University of Alberta

National Potency: Ritual and Action Code in United States Marine Corps Recruiting Posters from the Vietnam Era.

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the representation of militarized masculinity in United States Marine Corps recruiting posters. It investigates changes in the recruiting poster during one of the most divisive times in American history: the Vietnam era. From the perspective of art history and visual culture studies, Marine recruiting posters are highly constructed visual objects, the products of a concerted program of image development that speak to both the potential recruit and the general public. The author first situates the Vietnam era posters within the greater context of Marine Corps recruiting history since the history of Marine Corps recruiting is also a history of the reception of the Marine Corps by the American public. She then discusses the idealized masculinity of the Marine and its media-generated counter images of wound and embattlement within the Vietnam era. In conclusion, she offers an analysis of the significance of the representations of women Marines and African-American Marines alongside white, idealized masculinity.

To my family

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Introduction

The Marine Corps Builds Men: Body, Mind, Spirit.

United States Marine Corps, recruiting slogan, 1963

Since its establishment in 1775, the United States Marine Corps (USMC) has been a dominant presence in maintaining American hegemony at home and abroad. Beginning as ship's guards and then as colonial infantry for prolonged military interventions on behalf of American interests abroad during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, once into the twentieth century the Marine Corps played a prominent role in World War I, and again in World War II where they saw action in both the Pacific arena and in Europe. Throughout their history they have portrayed themselves as America's "force in readiness."[1] The militarized form of American masculinity embodied by members of the Marine Corps - what I will refer to as national potency - manifests itself broadly when the Marines[2] enact their military missions out of the country. Within the United States, media images of Marines on parade and as guards to the President of the United States have familiarized the American public with the Marine image.[3] Hollywood films like *Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949), *Flying Leathernecks* (1951), and *A Few Good Men* (1993) have glamorized the Marine to generations of young men, with the result that the Marine Corps is rated the highest among the services

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[1] Victor H. Krulak, Lt. General, USMC (Ret), *First to Fight: An Inside View of the U.S. Marine Corps* (Annapolis, ML: United States Naval Institute, 1984); and Allan R. Millett, *Semper Fidelis. The History of the United States Marine Corps* (New York: The Free Press, 1980), 444-652. Lt. Gen. Krulak served in the U.S. Marines from 1934 to 1968.

[2] Capitalization of the word Marine has been a worry for me from the very beginning of this project, since it appears to be another example of the maintenance of a naturalized status. In official USMC material from the USMC Historical Center and in Marine Corps publications such as *Leatherneck* and *The Marine Corps Gazette* it is always capitalized. In academic and popular literature outside the Marine Corps sometimes it is capitalized, sometimes it is not. In this thesis I will capitalize Marine since I am referring to an entity and the Marine Corps is an institution with historical specificity. Mr. Benis Frank, the retired Chief Historian of the United States Marine Corps Historical Centre, Washington Navy Yard, Washington, D.C. comments that a "U.S. Marine is always capitalized" and that he considers "a Marine as a unique object" (Mr. Benis Frank to author, 10 March 2004).

[3] Another familiar sight are the Marine guards at all American embassies.

for "proving manhood" and "attractive uniform."[4] The Marine Corps' recruiting posters are central components in communicating this message of national strength and masculinity (see figure 1). In this thesis, I consider the construction of that image of masculinity through the recruiting poster – a device that speaks to both the potential recruit and the general public. More specifically, this thesis examines changes in the recruiting poster during one of the most divisive times in American history: the Vietnam era.[5]

Although there is a great deal of discussion about the beginning of the Vietnam period for the United States, i.e. some include their involvement in the Indochina War between the French and the Vietnamese from 1946-1954, it is generally considered that the Vietnam Conflict for the Americans began with the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, 7 August 1964, that approved the deployment of American troops, mainly Marines, into Da Nang, South Vietnam, which happened on 8 March 1965. The ending of American involvement in Vietnam took place on 29 April 1975 with the fall of Saigon to the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN), commonly referred to as the North Vietnamese Army (NVA). For the purposes of this thesis, I consider the Vietnam era to be from 1965 to 1975. Although there was initial public support for American intervention in Vietnam, intense media coverage of the conflict presented disturbing images of wounded and dead soldiers that quickly shifted Americans' view of the war. As I will demonstrate, recruiting posters during this time abandoned their traditional portrayals of Marines in action in favour of a rhetoric of ritual and tradition that countered the troubling media images of the conflict in Vietnam.

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[4] Martin Binkin and Jeffrey Record, *Where Does the Marine Corps Go From Here?* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1976), 57fn.

[5] "The Vietnam era" is used here to refer to the period of American involvement. From 1965 when American military forces landed at Da Nang, South Vietnam to 1975 when the U.S. officially evacuated their Embassy in Saigon.

Particularly evident during the 1968 Tet Offensive and its immediate aftermath, one of the most intense periods of fighting in the war, the Marines relied on images of patriotism and ritual rather than directly referencing military actions.[6]

What is militaristic masculinity? What are its components as represented in United States Marine Corps recruiting posters? How does militarized masculinity relate to nationalism, war, and difference? In *The Image of Man*, George Mosse states, "The construction of modern masculinity took place not only against the background of middle-class society but also in concert with the rise of a new national consciousness."[7] For Cynthia Enloe, in *The Morning After. Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*, the "militarization of any nationalist movement occurs through the gendered workings of power."[8] Naturalized assumptions of nation, and protection of that nation, particularly during war, are fundamental components of the Marine Corps. In the recruiting posters, this message is communicated through the reiteration of the image of the disciplined Marine, taking responsibility, doing his duty, communally working for the rights and freedom of the oppressed, as well as for the inherent freedom of America. The image of the Marine

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[6] Tet references the Vietnamese New Year. In the Vietnam War the Tet Offensive refers to a countrywide offensive undertaken during the Vietnamese New Year (29-31 January) by Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese Army. The Tet offensive of 1968 comprised two major offensives. The first was the Battle for Khe Sanh that continued after Tet was over (January 21-March 30). The second was the full-scale assault on all major cities in South Vietnam. The NVA, under the leadership of General Vo Nguyen Giap, utilized close to 80,000 NVA and Viet Cong regulars against 105 South Vietnamese cities and towns. Tet-related battles continued for another four months. In Saigon, the American embassy "takeover" (for six hours) was established as a symbol of NVA intent. I Corps: the northernmost military tactical zone during the Vietnam conflict. See Allan R. Millett, *Semper Fidelis The History of the United States Marine Corps* (New York: The Free Press, 1991), 593; Don Oberdorfer, *TET! The Turning Point in the Vietnam War* (New York: Da Capo Press Inc., 1984); Robert D. Schulzinger, *A Time For War, The United States and Vietnam, 1941-1975* (New York: Oxford University Press, c.1998), 246-73; and Douglas Welsh, *The History of the Vietnam War* (Greenwich, CT.: Bison Books, 1981), 94.

[7] George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 52.

offering his life in the defense of America was seen as more than a sign of patriotic idealism, as historian Peter Filene has argued, "it defined manly character."[9] As the recruiting posters demonstrate, the Marine Corps was viewed as accepting "a particularly virile strain of American young manhood," men who were fully aware they were members of an elite fraternity with a special connection to the nation and its sovereignty.[10]

To further understand militarized masculinity it is important to pay attention to its cultural contexts and how such masculinity constructs itself as pre-social and natural in order to maintain its power. For Susan Jeffords, central to the understanding of war is to read it as a "construction of gendered interests."[11] The mounting rupture of American society in the 1960s can be characterized by events in 1968; these include demonstrations for civil rights, women's rights, anti-war protests, and university campus unrest. Nineteen sixty-eight commenced with two major North Vietnamese Army offensives in the Vietnam War: the siege of Khe Sanh and the Tet Offensive. Although the Communists experienced military defeat, the Tet Offensive provoked "a more important loss" in the United States, where "televised scenes of the grisly fighting turned public opinion against continuing the war in the same direction."[12] Shame factored into the dynamic of the conflict in Vietnam. With the great upheaval of Tet and its aftermath, the Marines needed to emphasize their

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[8] Cynthia Enloe, *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War* (Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press, 1993), 246, aggression 200, choices 247-8.

[9] Peter Gabriel Filene, "In Time of War" in *The American Man.* ed. Elizabeth H. Pleck and Joseph H. Pleck, 324. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1980).

[10] Robert George Lindsay, *This High Name: Public Relations and the U.S. Marine Corps* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1956), 14; and Ashley Brown, ed., *The U.S. Marines in Action.* Villard Military Series (New York: Villard Books, 1986), 42.

[11] Susan Jeffords, *The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), xi.

[12] Schulzinger, 261.

traditional dedication to the protection of America and its social structures. They saw themselves upholding the traditional values necessary for the maintenance of the nation. The instability provoked by the war in Vietnam required certain negotiations of recruitment procedures traditionally employed by the Marine Corps. One phenomenon that had an impact on modes of Marine recruiting was the mass media coverage of the Tet Offensive in 1968, which countered messages from the U.S. Administration and by extension the Marine Corps. The coverage of Marines at Khe Sanh and Hue contributed to the unsettlement of the traditional imagery of USMC recruiting posters. The constructed space found in war news photography of embattled and wounded Marines defied any valorization of the masculine in war. Furthermore, changes in American society required the Marine Corps to accommodate women and African-Americans within the ranks while maintaining recruitment levels during an unpopular war. The representation of the Marine Corps as an inclusionary organization served to allay uncertainties for both the entry of these others into the Corps and to highlight images of strength, solidarity, and patriotism in the nation.

Posters and Literary Review

Analysis and research on United States Marine Corps recruiting posters is uncommon and there is no extensive text that focuses exclusively on them. There are a few articles relating to their history in Marine Corps publications and the posters are used as illustrations in articles or books relating to Marine Corps history or war history in general.[13] In 1986, Capt. Visconage wrote a brief poster history, "The Art of Recruiting," for the *Marine Corps Gazette*, renamed "Recruiting The Corps" when it was published in the

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[13] Millett, opposite 431. The poster *The Marines Are Looking For A Few Good Men: Nobody likes to fight. But somebody has to know how* is reproduced but has no accompanying information (see figure 18).

Leatherneck.[14] Some comments are found in overviews of posters relating to specific wars, and they are sometimes mentioned in general poster histories.[15] Marine Corps recruiting posters are also found as collectibles, cover illustrations for publications, and as replicas that can be purchased in the Marine Corps Heritage Foundation Gift Shop in Washington, D.C. and in their catalogue.[16] In 1978, the Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, displayed the only survey exhibition to date with a focus on the history of USMC recruiting posters. Titled *Recruiting Since 1775*, the exhibition presented recruiting posters that covered the years 1775 to 1975.[17] Also at the Historical Centre, Capt. Mike Visconage compiled a unique 35mm slide collection of Marine Corps posters, working from the USMC Art Collection maintained at the Centre and from various other locations in the United States.

Generally, political and historical paradigms structure the scholarship on wartime posters. Denis Judd, for example, related the development of the poster to the progression of World War I and II.[18] He discussed the various requirements for posters during the

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[14] Capt. Mike Visconage, "The Art of Recruiting" in *Marine Corps Gazette*, November 1986, 35-45 and "Recruiting The Corps" in *Leatherneck*, 71 no.12 (December 1988), 20-5. Visconage surveyed pre-twentieth century recruiting practice, World War I and II posters, and some of the many poster artists. He briefly mentions the slogans and images produced from the late 1940's to the late 1970's.

[15] For example, Walton Rawls has a few of these posters, including Adolph Treidler's 1918 poster *U.S. Marines: Another Notch, Chateau Thierry*, in his book *Wake Up, America! World War I and the American Poster* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988), 247. See also Therese Thau Heyman, *Posters American Style* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 102; Denis Judd, *Posters of World War Two* (London: Wayland Publishers, 1972), 48-9; Peter Paret, Beth Irwin Lewis, and Paul Paret. *Persuasive Images: Posters of War and Revolution from the Hoover Institution Archives* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 65, 201.

[16] The Marine Corps Heritage Foundation catalogue is online, see www.Marineheritage.org.

[17] Promotional articles, containing historical information, accompanied the exhibit such as "Move Over, Betty Grable" by Tom Bartlett (*Leatherneck*, September 1978, 46-9) and "The U.S. Marines Want You to visit the exhibition Recruiting Since 1775…" (ed. Maj. David N. Buckner, *Fortitudine*, Vol. VIII (Summer 1978) No. 1, 12-4). Exhibition documentation, from inception to completion, is in two red binders, *Redbooks*, not intended for publication, housed at the Marine Corps Historical Center Archives, Washington Navy Yard.

[18] Denis Judd, *Posters of World War Two* (London: Wayland Publishers), 1972.

conflicts such as recruitment, home front needs, and dissemination of information to the enemy and civilian populations in occupied territories.[19] In *Persuasive Images*, Peter Paret, Beth Lewis and Paul Paret studied wartime poster production in the first half of the twentieth century and how it related to political change and social movements, such as the women's movement.[20] Writing on wartime posters tends to have a bias toward the World War I era and I found no meaningful discussion on recruiting poster production of the 1960s and 1970s. What all this material has in common is its analysis of the recruiting poster as a means of understanding the political or social history of the Marine Corps, a particular war, or as part of a larger history of the United States. They are viewed as propaganda mechanisms that further the needs and goals of the Marine Corps and the American administration at the time of their production. This allows them to be connected both with specific events and with the greater narrative of the American nation.

When scholarship moved away from the use of the poster as a tool to illustrate history, it tended to focus on the artist or on art and design developments. The scholarship of Alan Fern, John Barnicoat and Victor Margolin embodies this perspective, discussing the history of poster production through an analysis of artists, the formal developments of design, and the social and political events that these posters illustrated.[21] Much of their

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[19] See also Alan Fern, *Off the Wall: Research into the Art of the Poster*, The Fifth Hanes Lecture (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Hanes Foundation, 1985); S. Michael Schnessel, "The Paper Weapon," *The Retired Officer* (October 1977), 24-6; and Phyllis Zauner, "The Patriotic Poster," *The Retired Officer* (July 1982(, 24-6. Like Fern, David Kunzle and Maurice Rickards examine the protest poster; they do not reference posters for military recruitment. See Exhibition catalogue by David Kunzle, *American Posters of Protest 1966-70* (New York: New School Art Center, 1971); Maurice Rickards, *Posters of Protest and Revolution* (New York: Walker and Company, 1970).

[20] Peter Paret, Beth Irwin Lewis, and Paul Paret, *Persuasive Images. Posters of War and Revolution from the Hoover Institution Archives* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

[21] See Alan Fern, *Word and Image: Posters from the Collection of The Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1968); John Barnicoat, *A Concise History of Posters* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975); and

research, however, concentrates on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries paying little attention to developments in the 1960s, except for brief discussions of posters of protest. Nonetheless, recent research into poster history has also recognized the interests of propaganda and patriotism. When Richard Hollis related the character of poster design to the design history of nations, he outlined what he considered were the significant artists, designers, and innovations in such countries as Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland, and the United States, among others, and noted similar nationalist strategies in the war posters of these countries.[22]

Posters fulfil a social function of visualizing information. C. B. (Charles Buckles) Falls, a graphic artist who produced a number of Marine Corps posters during the First World War, believed that "a poster should be to the eye what a shouted command is to the ear."[23] Along with other forms of advertising, they are significant, yet ephemeral, items in our visual experiences.[24] Posters communicate by catching the attention of their intended audience. The audiences for recruiting posters are not only potential recruits and existing members of the armed forces, but also the support systems - their families and the general public. Posters are meant to affect these audiences for a short time, yet their messages are intended to be memorable. They are produced to maximize their persuasive content by marketing teams, rather than individual artists. The Marine Corps marketing branch has worked with the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency throughout the twentieth century

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Victor Margolin, *The Promise & The Product: 200 Years of American Advertising Posters* (New York: MacMillan, 1979).

[22] Richard Hollis, "War and Propaganda 1914 to the 1930s", 32-6 and "War and Propaganda 1920s to 1945", 104-11 in *Graphic Design: A Concise History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994).

[23] Marine Corps Historical Program, History and Museums Division, *Fortitudine* no.3 Vol. XXIII (Winter 1993-1994): 2.

and now into the twenty-first century on campaign strategies that build and maintain repositories of memory connecting the Marine Corps with perceived universal roots and national traditions. Infinitely reproducible and distributed widely, posters are not meant to offer a rarified one-on-one experience like an individual painted object, but aim to connect with as many people as possible and to achieve quantifiable end results (e.g. sales, recruits, support for a particular organization or cause, etc.). To convey information to such a broad audience, poster designers use traditional and common elements such as precise and finished painted images or colored photographs that are easily recognizable, understandable, and unambiguous. The language and images in posters are integrated and distilled to maximize the readability and assimilation of the poster's message.

Since their constitutive elements are chosen with care and highly constructed and manipulated to fit with trends and ideas of their period, posters as material cultural objects provide a means to view, interpret, and reinterpret the complexities of society. Viewing Marine Corps posters as a group or series reveals their promotional strategies, which would be lost if only viewing single posters. Furthermore, placing the posters in their historical context, while retaining their placement within a campaign, provides an opportunity to fully understand and identify their direct and indirect messages. Posters are both historical markers that help us understand the specifics of issues and moods from our past, and important agents in the construction of societal values and beliefs. Therefore the study of the techniques of representation utilized within the posters beyond the realm of design

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[24] Therese Thau Heyman, *Posters American Style* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 8.

innovation can offer another view into issues such as identity construction and the dissemination of messages beyond the overtly expressed.[25]

One of the techniques used in Marine Corps recruiting posters to provide an unambiguous message was the utilization of a masculine stereotype that exhibited codes of militarism and nationalism.[26] The consistent representation of the white, male Marine was an attempt to influence the visual culture of the United States, since the widely distributed manly ideal of the Marine Corps was intended to match a mythologized normative masculinity that represented the nation. An analysis of this representation of masculinity in recruiting posters has ramifications for understanding how the nation viewed itself. During the late 1960s, a crisis of identity, affected by mass media images of Marines in Vietnam, precipitated the mediation of the traditional wartime recruiting strategy. A manifestation of this was the inclusion of women and African-Americans in traditional Marine Corps imagery. Since women and African-Americans did not reflect the normative connection between masculinity, militarism, and nationalism, the general public and these potential recruits could not see themselves represented in the Corps's belief systems or in the nation's identity. What happened within the design of the posters that enabled these messages to be redirected to women and African-Americans? Were they successful? At this point there appears to be scant scholarship on the representation of gender and race in poster production. My research on Marine Corps recruiting posters will introduce a gendered and racial view into military culture and its underlying social infrastructures.

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[25] Millett, 783. "To understand the development of the Corps's self-image and public appeal over many years, one should examine Marine recruiting posters."

[26] The Marine Corps developed distinctive imagery, although posters from other branches of the military displayed similar masculine ideals.

Methods – Art History and Visual Culture

This thesis stems from an interest in knowing how images of masculinity function in society. In particular, I am interested in the conjunction between masculinity, militarism, and nationhood. The recruiting posters of the United States Marine Corps provide representations of those concepts. However, they are delimited by a narrative that constructs the Marine Corps and the United States as just and noble institutions worthy of veneration. This is not a surprise. Literature in the field has established the "unconscious and inarticulate" nature of the embodiment of the white, middle-class male as a normative element in a paternal, militarized, social structure.[27] In *The Matter of Images, Essays on Representations*, Richard Dyer defines a social type as a group that has the power to identify itself as central to a given society and a stereotype as the 'other', the group that does not belong.[28] In the United States, white, middle-class masculinity wields a hegemonic power that is visible throughout society and can thus be described as a 'social type' according to Dyer's definition. Its self-representation is as the defender of the nation, a view that has its support and ideological basis in the collective identity of patriotism and nationalism. The militarized masculinity of the Marine Corps is an extreme version of this social type. It is part of the military-industrial complex where the lives of workers are tied to militarized

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[27] Arthur Brittan, *Masculinity and Power* (New York: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1989); Antony Easthope, *What a Man's Gotta Do: The Masculine Myth in Popular Culture* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990); Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches & Bases. Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990) and *The Morning After. Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War* (Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press, 1993); Charlotte Hooper, *Manly States. Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Susan Jeffords, *The Remasculinization of America Gender and the Vietnam War* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989); Jackson Katz, "Advertising and the Construction of Violent White Masculinity" in *Gender, Race, and Class in Media: A Text-Reader*, ed. Gail Dines and Jean M. Humez (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2003), 349-58; George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man. The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); and Nancy Tuana and others, eds. *Revealing Male Bodies* (Bloomington, IN.: Indiana University Press, 2002).

[28] Richard Dyer, "The Role of Stereotypes" in *The Matter of Images. Essays on Representation* (London: Routledge, 1993, 11-8).

production and occurs when "any part of a society becomes controlled by or dependent on the military or on military values."[29] Embedded in the institutional practices of the state, masculinism grants access to power and privilege to those culturally associated with it. In this way, the Marine Corps is integrated into the naturalized masculinist practice of the nation and retains its agency because of this proximity to power. Analyses of the gendered nature of military activities reaffirm this environment.[30] Revealing these codes is difficult.

Once militarized masculinity is recognized as learned then its politics can be contested. Rather than being undifferentiated sites of identification for potential recruits, recruiting posters offer glimpses into strategies of masculine socialization and belief systems. Central to the discussion is the analysis of what constitutes representations of militarized masculinity. In *Manly States*, Charlotte Hooper points out that "soldiering is characterized as a manly activity requiring the 'masculine' traits of physical strength, action, toughness, capacity for violence, and, for officers, resolve, technical know-how, and logical or strategic thinking."[31] This does not mean that masculinity unquestioningly continues to maintain this hegemony, the literature on masculinity defines it as a constructed social formation that refers to the "set of images, values, interests, and activities held important to a successful achievement of male adulthood."[32] Since it is not pre-social, within this perspective masculinity can be unpacked and examined. Cynthia Enloe asserts, "Patriarchy does not

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[29] Enloe, 1993, 100.

[30] Ehrenreich, 125-31; Enloe, 1990, 42-64; and Christine L. Williams, *Gender Differences At Work. Women and Men in Nontraditional Occupations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

[31] Charlotte Hooper, 47.

[32] Jeffords, xii.

come in "one size fits all."[33] Antony Easthope and Jackson Katz, among others, argue that masculinity needs to be made "visible."[34] This visibility allows for the recognition, consistent in the literature, that masculinity sees itself in opposition to femininity; in this way it distances itself from the "other". Easthope, who bases his research in psychoanalysis, describes masculinity as a continual negotiation with the feminine opposite and a denial of "desire for other men."[35] Katz refines this separation or difference from the "other" to include the differentiation of dominant masculinity from subordinated masculinities.[36] He stresses that this position "requires constantly reasserting what is masculine and what is feminine" and that "one of the ways this is accomplished, in the image system, is to equate masculinity with violence, power, and control (and femininity with passivity)."[37] The contested nature of the Vietnam period offers opportunities to examine the hegemony of the ideal embodiment of the white, male Marine, particularly when analysis is extended to the representations of women and African-Americans in the recruiting posters. In a social sense the Vietnam era poster has its own story to tell. This narrative of shifts, negotiations, and inclusions is the body of this thesis. It discusses the representation of masculinist hegemony during a time of "shifts" in the patriarchal domination that challenged its stability.[38] It is a narrative that led to the post-war period described by Susan Jeffords as the "remasculinization of America."[39] It is a narrative of a period of rupture, with multiple

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[33] Enloe, 1993, 5.
[34] Easthope, 1; Katz, 350.
[35] Easthope, 6.
[36] Katz, 350.
[37] Ibid, 351-2.
[38] Jeffords, xi.
[39] Ibid.

cultural expectations, that paradoxically led to the re-entrenchment of the political right in America.[40] Examining Vietnam era Marine Corps recruiting posters and their militaristic masculine ideal can help show how national identity worked during the instability of the 1960s.

In order to accomplish this analysis, I turned to the literature in art history that addresses issues of representation. Feminist art history's inquiry into the representation of women in visual media is particularly useful here. In her essay "Missing Women: Rethinking Early Thoughts on 'Images of Women'," Griselda Pollock refers to representations as "potent formulations" of identity. She considers them as active components in the "construction of subjectivity, femininity, and sexuality," and affirms that "images and reality reference and influence each other to produce deeper meanings."[41] Pollock's discussion of the contested nature of the relationship between the real and the represented, informed my examination of the interplay between the reality of being a Marine, the representation of the ideal masculinity of the Marines, and the invisible nature of masculinity as a learned position. As Pollock states, "The real is always present as the criteria against which images are assessed, a real which is never interrogated as itself a product of representation."[42] In addition, Pollock argued for an expansion of traditional art history to include a feminist based social history carefully informed by Marxist considerations of ideology. The study of art, although complicated and ever-changing, is uniquely positioned to comprehend structures of representation and their role in the perpetuation of hegemonic relations. As

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[40] Barbara Ehrenreich, "Legacies of the 1960s New Rights and New Lefts" in *Sights on the Sixties.* ed. Barbara L. Tischer, 227-234 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

[41] Griselda Pollock, "Missing Women: Rethinking Early Thoughts on Images of Women" in *The Critical Image: Essays on Contemporary Photography.* ed. Carol Squiers, 202-19. (Seattle: Bay Press, 1990).

Pollock states, "Ideology is not just a set of ideas but a process of masking contradictions thrown up in the life of society."[43] This questioning of the underlying belief systems of society allowed me to examine images of the masculine as highly mediated representations within an ideology that is influenced by its historical moment and place, and with agency in the wider world. Joan Acland's writing supported this proviso to look beyond the object to include its social history.[44] In this way, Acland believes, we avoid being complicit in the dissemination of false information since an analysis focused solely on the object can lead to flawed interpretations. Her research emphasized the need to look at social context to understand the multifaceted nature of meaning. To look at the recruiting posters simply as illustrations of Marine Corps uniforms, activity, and history disallows the recognition that they offer a means to analyze American empire and militarism. We need to recognize that the Marine Corps sustains a public relations program that actively promotes the masculinist nature of their military activities for the nation. Furthermore, the call by feminist art historians for an emphasis on ideological practice rather than an individual reliance on genius and greatness, moved this thesis away from being a biography of the artists who produced Marine Corps posters or a history of the Marine Corps marketing branch to a discussion of the ideological function of visual cultural objects in American society.

Feminist analysis of images of women led Norman Bryson to ask the same questions about the representation of male bodies. He reshaped the issues about the male gaze to problematize and make visible how the male viewer looks at the male body. My thesis will

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[42] Ibid, 203.

[43] Griselda Pollock, "Women, Art and Ideology: Questions for Feminist Art Historians" in *Women's Art Journal* 4 (Spring/Summer 1983), 43.

add evidence to Bryson's research on how the subject is acted on by the strain of the masquerade of the masculine and his use of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of coercive "cross-censorship" (a process that is both inward and outward) that maintained this orthodox code.[45] Bryson argued that codes of masculine identity dictated prescribed activity for the male subject. The male subject in turn projected those codes outward to influence others as a means of self-maintenance. Following Bryson, one question this thesis addresses is why naturalized, ideal, militaristic masculinity had so much power and was so compelling within the process of male identification. Furthermore, why did this representation of militarized masculinity continue to hold power during the Vietnam conflict despite the agency of counter versions such as the representations of the embattled and wounded body in the mass media and the inclusion of women and African-American men in recruiting posters? If the war "profoundly affected every institution in American life: universities, Congress, the presidency, the Democratic Party, the armed forces, labor unions, religious organizations, and the mass media," how did the violent nature of masculinity retain its power?[46] In addition to Bryson, media scholars Richard Dyer, and Steve Neale have questioned the unproblematic way that masculinity is represented in society.[47] Dyer is concerned with how

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[44] Joan Acland, "Elitekey: The Artistic Production of the Mc'Kmaq Women" in *RACAR* XXV, 1-2/1998 (2001), 3-11.

[45] Norman Bryson, "Géricault and 'Masculinity'." in *Visual Culture Images & Interpretations*, ed. Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey, (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), 231, 258. In this essay, Bryson also questioned the adequacy of the concept of voyeurism when discussing the male gaze with a male object. He argued that male identification went beyond a simple voyeuristic subjectivity into an "extremely complex negotiation" that involved a coercive "masquerade of the masculine." Bryson argued for the use of a combination of psychoanalytic, historical and visual approaches to further the knowledge of the "linkage between the male subject, the male image, and the social hierarchy" in the overall questioning of the power and "order of patriarchy."

[46] Schulzinger, 215.

[47] John Caughie and Annette Kuhn, ed. "Introduction to Images of Men" in *The Sexual Subject: A Screen Reader in Sexuality* (London: Routledge, 1992), 261-4; Richard Dyer, "Don't Look Now: The Male Pin-Up" in *The*

representations of gender roles reinforce coded functions in the social order, in particular "those that reinforce male power." In my analysis of the masculine ideal in recruiting posters, I observed that images of certain types of men make ineffective representations of other types of masculinity and minimize the representations of women. This process of masking any contradictions of visibility to maintain the status quo denies questioning of social formations and denies agency to those not represented. In this way, Steve Neale's particular interest in the male spectator and his writings on identification, voyeurism, and fetishism informed my discussion of how these posters speak to potential recruits and to the general public.

I hope to add to the academic discourses developed by these scholars of visual culture, who maintained allegiances to historically specific analysis of the constructs of ideology and codes of representation to overcome, respectively, the problematic of the feminine and the masculine and to discuss the power of the paradigm. Their questioning of the assumptions of unproblematic, naturalized processes in social formations informs my work of tracking the process of naturalization of the Marine body, where the repetition and cross-referencing of representations progressed to the stage of the normative. I am interested in how "these representations interact, cross-refer, and accumulate around certain fixed points to create a dense texture of meaning that then acquires the authority of the obvious, commonsensical, and self-evident."[48]

Marine Corps posters are a visual narrative of the mechanisms that sustain the connection between nationalism and masculinity. My research will show that these

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Sexual Subject: A Screen Reader in Sexuality (London: Routledge, 1992), 265-76; and Steve Neale, "Masculinity as Spectacle" in *The Sexual Subject: A Screen Reader in Sexuality* (London: Routledge, 1992), 277-87.

[48] Squiers, 203.

recruiting posters influence and are influenced by the everyday ideas of their particular social formation. They are rich social and visual constructions of the normative masculinity found in every aspect of modern society and they communicate the visual paradigms of militarization. The 1960s, in particular the Tet Offensive period of the Vietnam conflict, disrupted many Americans' sense of their own identity. The era's discord unmasked the normative connection with the hegemony of masculinity, militarism and nationalism. It raised questions about the rhetoric around constructed vision, the standards of ideal masculinity, and the public expression of nationhood. Through the analysis of visual, textual, and ideological elements, I will show how the Marine Corps recruiting posters privileged certain forms of masculinity and how these posters helped plot a course, within the volatile social formation of the Vietnam period, to maintain the power of the social paradigm embodied by the white, male body.

Chapter 1 is first and foremost a diachronic discussion of the history of Marine Corps recruiting posters. It follows the evolution of the Marine Corps recruiting poster from 1775, the year the Marine Corps was founded, to 1957, the beginning of the *Builds Men* recruiting campaign that was instrumental during the early years of the Vietnam conflict. Chapter 1 is also framed by the identification of two dominant themes in recruiting practice: the use of action and ritual codes. The tension between the uses of these two themes structures the discussions in Chapters 2 and 3.

Chapter 2 focuses on posters produced during the United State's involvement in Vietnam (roughly 1957 to 1970) and encompasses the *Builds Men, Ask A Marine,* and the beginning of *The Marines Are Looking For A Few Good Men* recruiting campaigns. It determines that recruiting practice attempted to project an image of masculinity as natural

and immutable, in part, to counter images of embattled and wounded masculinities found in the mass-media representation of the Vietnam conflict. As I will argue, the representation of the Marine Corps as less than ideal combined with levels of unrest and questioning in American society complicated the incorporation of contemporary images of war into the recruiting practice, resulting in a focus on the ritual code. Once the Marines were withdrawn from Vietnam there was a quick return to action orientated recruiting practice.

Chapter 3 discusses how the recruiting practice of the Marine Corps included women and African-American men to negotiate the disruption of the Vietnam period. The minimal representation of Women Marines attempted to distract the reader from the realities of the conflict, a strategy that is evident in the swing away from traditional wartime imagery in the posters toward the ritual code. These initiatives produced a disconnection from Vietnam, the addition of women signifying support for the Marine Corps as an institution. The inclusion of African-American Marines also acted to divert attention from the main issues of the conflict. Where it differs is that it addressed real issues of racial tension in the Corps, issues that were hard to ignore, and in that respect, did communicate actual initiatives developed by the Marines. Throughout these representational manoeuvres, the underlying basis of Marine Corps recruiting – the figure of the ideal, male Marine – remained stable.

The purpose of this analysis of Marine Corps recruiting posters is twofold. First, it serves to document a body of work that previously had not been discussed at this level. From the perspective of art history and visual culture studies, the recruiting posters function as cultural objects with ideological purpose. Their documentation and analysis expand the ongoing dialogue on the function of visual objects in society. Recruiting posters have, I believe, been simplistically viewed as predictable objects with no nuance. The second

purpose of this analysis complicates that characterization. The discussion about recruiting posters and practice during the Vietnam era illustrates the complexity of interactions in social formations, where visual cultural objects are not simply straightforward messages. Instead, they are complex narratives dealing with highly constructed spaces. This thesis suggests that the white, male Marine is not the stuff of myth; by dismantling the myth of this privileged, white manhood we can better understand the timeless union of militarism, nationalism, and masculinity.

Chapter 1

The Marine Corps Recruiting Poster, 1775-1957

According to Anthony Crawford, recruiting posters evoke a "national nostalgic memory…familiar ideas and images, conventional wisdom, and a simplified perception of war as right versus wrong."[49] Inherently nationalistic cultural objects, they employ direct, simple, and seemingly natural messages to communicate to both potential recruits and the public at large. In Marine Corps recruiting posters, the evocative messages noted by Crawford are conveyed through the use of such catchphrases as *Mind, Body, and Spirit*, *A Few Good Men*, *First to Fight*, and *Esprit de Corps*. These straightforward slogans are integrated with potent images of Marines on drill, on parade, or in other facets of training or daily life, as well as Marine images referencing Marine Corps history. In conjunction with their role as communicators of overt invitations to enlist, recruiting posters construct the public face of Marine Corps identity. Their elements are refined to maximize the effectiveness of the Marine Corps recruiting messages to include ideas of order and discipline, masculinity and nation, desire and fulfillment.[50] Sustained constructions of identity further Marine Corps objectives, entrench the idea of the Corps as a military sign for the nation, and help establish the distinctiveness of the United States in the global community.

To provide the context for the discussions of the posters produced during the Vietnam era, Chapter 1 is first and foremost an assessment of the history of Marine Corps recruiting posters. It follows the evolution of these posters from 1775, the year the Marine Corps was founded, to 1957, the beginning of the *Builds Men* recruiting campaign that

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[49] Anthony Crawford, ed., *Posters of World War I and World War II in the George C. Marshall Research Foundation* (Charlottesville, VA.: University Press of Virginia, 1979).

[50] The Marine Corps utilized active-duty Marines in their marketing strategies rather than models dressed as Marines in order to retain a measure of authenticity in their imagery.

continued into the 1960s and was used for recruitment for the Vietnam conflict. The emphasis is on poster production during the two World Wars and into the Cold War period. What this brief history reveals is that Marine Corps recruiting practice is fundamentally structured around the use of a traditional poster technique: the single figure linked to the product by a visual idea. The single figure is the white, male Marine, the product is the Marine Corps, and the connecting visual idea is the representation of ideal, militarized masculinity in the United States. Although other poster techniques were utilized, such as the personal endorsement and direct appeal of a public figure addressing the viewer, as well as visual metaphors such as the American eagle as a symbol of national fighting spirit, what appears to be the core of the Marine Corps recruiting practice is its projection of a natural and immutable masculinity. In this chapter, I will argue that Marine Corps recruiting practice since the eighteenth century has been dominated by two themes: the action and the ritual codes. These codes are framing devices that allow for the systematic dissemination of ideas about the Marines as the embodiment of militarized masculinity as determined by the white, male Marine.

The action code is generally represented by a realistically depicted male Marine body in utilities, with a combat helmet, surrounded by the accoutrements associated with his job as a Marine, such as rifles, tanks, planes and other military matérial.[51] There is usually some reference to activity, whether that is situating the Marines at a beach landing or battle site, during maneuvers, or describing such action within the poster. Generally the action code does not identify actual battle locations nor does it depict particular wars; recruiting practice

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[51] Linda Reinberg, *In the Field: The Language of the Vietnam War* (New York: Facts on File, 1991), 229. Utilities: Marine term for combat fatigues. In 1969, the Marine utilities changed from olive drab uniforms to camouflaged

is universalized to the greater representation of the Marines as a force ready for action.[52] The action code rarely depicted wounded, dying, or dead Marines with only one or two exceptions across the full history of the posters.[53] The bearing of the Marines depicted in the posters varies between a serious, composed appearance and an open, expressive smile. The significance of the demeanour appears to be unrelated to either of the themed codes, although there seems to be a greater utilization of the serious Marine in the ritual code posters.

The ritual code is a realistically depicted male Marine body in a dress blue uniform: the Marine Corps has a series of uniforms ranging from the utilities of the action code to "dress blues." The latter is used for special occasions and is the only United States military uniform designed with all the colors of the American flag: blue for bravery, red for sacrifice, white for honor. The dress blue uniform has a high-collared, long-sleeved, tailored, navy blue coat, sky blue trousers with or without a red "blood" stripe on the outside seams, a blue or white dress barracks cap or cover with a black visor, and on officer's cap covers, a quatrefoil, a blue or white belt with a gold-colored buckle, black patent leather shoes and white gloves.[54] There are

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utilities of shaded green and yellow. In 2002 the Corps adopted utilities with pixel-based designs that blend with the surroundings.

[52] It needs to be noted that posters produced after World War II are exceptions to this generalizing statement about the action code and they are discussed later in this chapter.

[53] The stretcher party on Guadalcanal, drawn by Elmer Sidney Smith and published one year after the action as a Marine Corps poster, was specific to neither place nor time. Smith was inspired by Marine action on Tulagi and Guadalcanal, British Solomon Islands (beginning 7 August 1942). He drew a group of Marines carrying wounded through the Guadalcanal jungle on 8 October 1942. His work was not identified with Guadalcanal until it appeared in the December 1943 issue of *Life*. Elmer Sidney Smith, *Unknown Marine Artist of Guadalcanal*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1943, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

[54] There are a number of distinctions between uniforms such as winter and summer, male and female, enlisted and officer, and those that are historical and those currently in use. The high-collar references the earlier use of leather stocks at the neck to protect against sword slashes, which is how the Marines earned their nickname "leathernecks." The width of the red "blood" stripe distinguishes non-commissioned (NCOs), warrant and regular officers from enlisted Marines. Cover is the Marine term for hat. Hatband colors vary according to

a number of Marine Corps emblems on both this uniform and on the Marine Corps utilities. The emblem consists of an eagle, globe and anchor.[55] Three emblems are on the cap. One prominently placed pin is centred at the front of the cap, a button is located at each end of the narrow hat band that reaches halfway around the front of the cap and there are two emblems pinned to each side of the collar. Emblems are also on the epaulette buttons, on the pockets and cuffs, down the front of the jacket, and there is an emblem on the belt buckle worn by staff NCOs.[56] Officer's blues have a dark blue cloth belt, the blue matching the color of the blouse.[57] When wearing the blues, the enlisted belt is white with a brass buckle. In the ritual code the Marine is often standing at attention, he may or may not be saluting, or he is one of the members of the ceremonial Color Guard carrying a rifle, the Marine Corps ensign, or the American flag. The Mameluke sword and other signifiers of Marine Corps history are often present.[58] In the ritual code posters there is no overt reference to military action. The poster background is clean and devoid of any connotation to the reality involved with being a Marine - no action, no dirt. This code rarely references a particular location.

As the rest of this chapter will show, the themes of action and ritual work in tandem throughout the history of the poster in Marine Corps recruiting. The discussion is framed

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military rank. The quatrefoil marks the top of the cap with a white cross; this was originally used to identify Marine officers serving on sailing ships.

[55] The emblem is made up of: the Eagle: denotes service to the United States; the Globe: granted by King George IV in 1827 in place of Battle Honours; the Fouled Anchor: the Admiralty Badge: denotes that the Corps is part of the Naval Service. The emblem symbolizes distant service under the American eagle by air, land, and sea, representing the interests of the United States "in every clime and place." See also www.Marines.com. The symbol was adopted in 1868, the British Marines first wore it in 1747.

[56] NCO: abbreviation for Non-Commissioned Officer.

[57] Benis Frank, retired Chief Historian for the Marine Corps, indicates that the "Sam Browne belt has come back in fashion" and that he believes "all officers wear the SB with their blues" now. (Benis Frank to author, 17 March 2004).

[58] The Pasha of Tripoli presented the Mameluke sword in 1805 to Marine Lieutenant Presley O'Bannon after the triumphal battle against the Barbary pirates who had threatened shipping in the Mediterranean.

around the intersection of the action and ritual codes with the use of the white, male Marine as a representation of normative masculinity. The determination of the normative images used time and again by the Marine Corps marketing team will help to better understand the adaptations and modifications present during the Vietnam era. The thematic consistency of the ritual code that included the white, male Marine, were key factors in the development, maintenance, and coalescence of the ideal sign of Marine Corps identity. Although emphasis on the ritual code was apparent during other periods of stress in the United States, such as Pearl Harbor, there was a notable reliance on that code when the tensions of the Vietnam conflict spilled over into American society. This assessment of the public representations of the Marine Corps in recruiting posters allows for the identification that there was something different happening during the Vietnam era.

Marine Recruiting Posters to World War I

Initially generated by individual recruiting officers, the Marine Corps recruitment poster evolved into an integral component of polished advertising packages. This evolution included the lengthy association with the prestigious J. Walter Thompson Advertising Company. This affiliation began in the 1920s (JWT was a Marine), increased in the late 1940s, and in 1973 the agency became the sole consulting agency for the Marines. Today, the agency continues to develop recruiting strategies in consultation with the Marine Corps marketing branch, including the design of the Marine Corps website. [59]

Recruitment began soon after the Second Continental Congress established the United States Marine Corps. In December 1775, drummers with brightly decorated drums marched the streets for recruits. By 2 July 1777 recruitment campaigns asked for "able

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[59] See www.Marines.com.

bodied men, especially seamen." Two years later Capt. Wm. Jones advertised for "a few good Men" and in 1799 Secretary of War James McHenry instructed Lieutenant of Marines Philip Edwards not to "inlist" (*sic*) an individual less than "five feet and six inches high without shoes." A recruit was to be "above eighteen and under forty years of age...healthy, robust and sound in his Limbs and Body, and of a Make to support the Fatigues and acquire the honors of a Soldier."[60] Richard A. Long, oral historian at the Historical Center, concluded that

> ...the early years of recruiting activity in the USMC cannot be characterized by a poster or A-sign, instead they can be illustrated only through the medium of an occasional advertisement for recruits by a particular officer of Marines, or by either a holograph letter or typewritten quote from contemporary correspondence.[61]

Captain John G. Reynolds in New York City designed one of the earliest posters intended for the Mexican War of 1846-1848. The copy from 1847 solicited young men and proffered good pay, good food, and adequate clothing (see figure 2).[62] Under the bold typed words *U.S. Marines Wanted!* and over the equally bold words *Young Men,* the image of a ship is flanked by two Marine guards in dress uniform at attention. The black and white illustration occupies less than one-fifth of the total area of this poster but provides one of the earliest portrayals of the ritual code. In Chicago, Lieutenant Henry Clay Cochrane utilized a similar illustration of Marines on guard duty with a ship for his poster in 1866.[63] The Marine Corps

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[60] Redbook, exhibition development record at Marine Corps Historical Center. The 1775 drum design was a coiled rattlesnake with the motto: "Don't Tread On Me." Recruitment was straightforward in idea and execution; resources for recruiters were limited.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Capt. John G. Reynolds, *U.S. Marines Wanted!: Young Men,* recruiting poster, typeset on paper, c.1847, 17.6x22cm. (8x10").

[63] Lindsay, 8. In a 19 May 1866 letter to the Colonel Commandant, Cochrane states that after arranging for *Chicago Tribune* inserts "instead of using a second paper" he had "500 medium posters printed at a low rate." Henry Clay Cochrane, a colorful Marine officer in the late nineteenth century, was a very successful recruiter.

Historical Center collection, at the Washington Navy Yard in Washington, D.C., contains some of Cochrane's newspaper announcements, a large number dating from 1872. Key components to Cochrane's approach were details of pay, health benefits, rations, housing, references to adventure (perhaps an early application of the action code), as well as his name as a personal connection. The *Wanted Able-Bodied Men of Good Character*, dated c. 1895, continues the benefits theme. The depicted Marines are not in the standard attention stance of earlier illustrations, instead they look relaxed and appear to illustrate the different areas of the Marine Corps available to the recruit from enlisted status to band member to officer, with their respective uniforms.[64]

In 1907 the Marine Corps established a Publicity Bureau in Chicago. By 1911 the Bureau had expanded and included, by 1914, the publication of the *Recruiter's Bulletin*, an in-house publication to provide information and ideas to USMC recruiters.[65] The Bureau promoted the USMC as a volunteer fraternity with a high self-image, where individuals identified with team strategies (cooperativism was a keyword) and adhered to the motto – *Semper Fidelis* (Always Faithful).[66] Early recruiters relied on elements of adventure and action, camaraderie, the building of character, with a healthy dose of spectacle and ritual. In the first issue of the *Recruiter's Bulletin,* Sgt. Thomas G. Sterrett supported enlisting a recruit

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According to information in the *Redbook*, Cochrane "alone recruited 254 Marines" between May and August 1866.

[64] The 1890's posters were hand-painted.

[65] Volume 1, Number 1 of the *Recruiter's Bulletin* was November 1914. Its by-line read "Published Monthly in the Interests of the Recruiting Service of the U.S. Marine Corps." The *Bulletin* was under the auspices of the Press Department of the Publicity Bureau. In 1921 it was discontinued because of budgetary cuts.

[66] Until 1871 the motto was "First to Fight", a slogan found on recruitment posters during WWI. Semper Fi is a shortened form of the motto *Semper Fidelis*. A 1907 recruitment manual states: "Ever have they lived up to the letter, as well as the spirit, of the motto of the Corps: "Semper Fidelis." See *U.S. Marines. Duties Experiences Opportunities Pay*, Recruiting Manual, 1907, 6 (Archives, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard).

in a "brilliantly lighted recruiting office having wall ornamentations (posters, photographs, sometimes original paintings of Marines in action), decent office furniture and pleasant fires."[67] To ensure that new recruits got the message of untroubled adventure, Sterrett suggested a psychological approach. He combined his appeal for recruits with colorful, romantic statements intended to boost the excitement he thought was inherent in being a Marine. Sterrett promoted the Marine existence as "red-blooded life in the mystic Orient or on the boundless waves," and he envisioned a recruiting office with "contented, seemingly care-free Marines" chatting about "centavos" and "starboard kick" as well as "flitting about jokingly."[68] This portrayal of Marine life was intended to capture the recruit's attention through an appeal to his imagination and to proffer an invitation to join an invigorating adventure.

The first issue of the *Recruiter's Bulletin* also advertised a "new departure in recruiting literature," a booklet titled *The Marines, in Rhyme, Prose, and Cartoon.*[69] Of interest here, since it is an example of the ritual code, was the description provided in the *Bulletin* of its outer cover designed by Joseph Leyendecker, which was:

> ...ornamented with the pictures in color of two strapping clean faced Marines in Winter uniform. One of the figures is that of a Sergeant who stands at attention, rifle in hand, while his companion is of the Bugle Corps. Between the figures, on a pedestal and in gold, is the Marine insignia, a globe on which perches the American eagle.[70]

The cover illustration was the central image for two posters by Joseph Leyendecker, *An Opportunity to See The World* (c.1914), that was later issued as *U.S. Marines: Soldiers of the Sea*

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[67] Sterrett, Sgt. T.G. "The Light of Reason" in *Recruiter's Bulletin* Vol.1 (November 1914), 2.

[68] Ibid. Some of Sterrett's terms appear to be invented, such as starboard kick, which indicates that how the comments sounded, whether based on fact or not, was important to him.

[69] "Recruit By Mail For Marine Corps" in *Recruiter's Bulletin* vol. 1 (November 1914), 11.

(1917) (see figure 3).[71] The poster's perimeter had small photographs or illustrations depicting Marine Corps activities, of the type Sterrett suggested would provide ideas of travel and adventure.[72] The central figures embodied ideal masculinity. Specifically, they were clean and had slim, athletic bodies that showed the dress blue uniform to advantage. These characteristics ensured the continued use of this figure-type during and after World War I.[73] Quartermaster Sgt. Sterrett was credited with laying much of the foundation of Marine Corps public relations, in particular the introduction of many novel and effective recruiting methods, and he later became the editor of the *Recruiter's Bulletin*.[74] Sterrett's writings formed the genesis of the "squared away Marine" image of cleanliness, clarity, and a touch of spectacle.[75] The *Recruiter's Bulletin*, under Sterrett's tutelage, offered a forum to develop a standard image of the Marines.

Pressure to recruit for World War I service, while maintaining outward neutrality, began long before the United States entered the war. As part of the National Preparedness Campaign, military recruitment during this "readiness period" was intense and competitive.[76]

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[70] Ibid.

[71] Joseph C. Leyendecker, *U.S. Marines: Soldiers of the Sea*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1917, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard. Leyendecker first produced these figures for his c.1914 poster *An Opportunity to See the World*. The Marine figure holding a rifle is still used on the masthead of the *Sentinel*, a Marine Corps Heritage Foundation publication.

[72] Hand painted posters from the pre-WWI era frequently show a lone Marine in dress blues surrounded by exotic images of locations where the Marine Corps has seen action, such as Egypt, Turkey, China, and Panama. The smaller photographs and illustrations were solicited from enlisted Marines to keep the imagery fresh and new.

[73] The Sergeant and Bugler images were used together or separately as illustrations in other posters and general advertising, such as for the U.S. Marine Corps Week, 10-16 June 1917, where the slogan was "Four Thousand Enlistments by Saturday Night."

[74] Redbook.

[75] Reinberg, 207. According to Linda Reinberg, when the Marines discuss their outward appearance as neat and in order they use the term squared away.

[76] Lindsay, 23.

The Publicity Bureau, for the first time, consulted a civilian expert in advertising to outline the rules of salesmanship for Marine recruiters. Clifford Bleyer, from Taylor-Critchfield-Clague Co., Chicago, described his article in the *Recruiter's Bulletin* as "a plan for the augmenting of the Marine Corps of the United States by means of advertising."[77] Bleyer defined advertising as "a method of applying to and influencing human action so that others shall do that which you wish them to do." It was a "form of selling" with the components of "commanding attention, stimulating interest, then creating desire, then conviction."[78] He suggested applying the "accepted rules of salesmanship":

> First, to command the attention of young men and of those who have influence or authority over them; second, to awaken the interest of the young men and their elders – not their interests in the Marine Corps as a mere fighting machine, but as an instrument for the promotion of personal efficiency and the building of manhood; third, to create a desire in the hearts of young men to accept the advantages of Marine Corps experience for a term of years, and a desire in the heart of their elders to give their sons such advantages; fourth, to convince young and old that this is the right thing to do…The consummation of this sequence would represent a sale.[79]

Bleyer admitted "it would not be an easy matter to win the favor of fond parents if the "fighting" side of Marine Corps life were emphasized," so he advocated against the use of "waving…battle flags or sounding…bugles."[80] This was an early indication of the awareness by the recruiting program of the strength that the ritual code had over the action code. Bleyer offered the recruiter a strategy in the "neutral" atmosphere of pre-WWI, "until a real

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[77] Clifford Bleyer, "Stimulating Recruiting" in *Recruiter's Bulletin* 3 no.2 (December 1916), 13-15. The Editor's Note, positioned at the beginning of this article, indicates, "…this is the first time that we have been able to publish the views of an advertising expert from civil life."

[78] Ibid.

[79] See also "Stimulating Recruiting" in *Recruiter's Bulletin* vol.3, no. 3 (January 1917), 14-15.

[80] According to Bleyer, peacetime recruiting should stress the benefits for the enlisted man's advancement. See Bleyer, 1916, 14.

test comes and danger threatens."[81] Sergeant J.J. Murphy, USMC (Cleveland) wrote in January 1917, that Bleyer

> ...brings out the points most needed for the applicant of today, especially for the class of men that the Marine Corps needs, and is trying to get. The educational feature, the time a man has to devote to study, and the natural broadening of the mind through travel, etc., are the main arguments to prospects at this station, and have produced very good results."[82]

Once war was declared this emphasis shifted.[83] Captain Ross E. Rowell USMC, editor of the *Recruiter's Bulletin* wrote:

> We must also exert every effort to get in touch with the patriotically inclined and show them the way to make that patriotism practical. The educational opportunities, the chance to travel, the physical training, pay, etc., which the Marine Corps affords carries little weight as a recruiting argument during a national crisis. The opportunity for immediate action in the ranks of the men who man our warship's torpedo defense guns should prove a timely and effective argument. In order of importance it would seem that our most important function are the following: Teaching the public, particularly eligible prospects, that the Marine Corps maintains separate and distinct recruiting stations, that although a Marine goes to sea he is a soldier – not a sailor – and does not spend his entire enlistment on the ocean wave, the fact that he is first on the spot when trouble threatens and the fact that Marines man the battleship guns used in torpedo defense.[84]

The fervor of patriotism was enough to provide ample recruits early in the First World War.

Two hundred and seventy-nine artists and thirty-three cartoonists donated time and work to the wartime military activities of the Division of Pictorial Publicity during World War I, headquartered in New York with branches in Chicago, Boston and San Francisco.[85]

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[81] Ibid.

[82] Sergeant J.J. Murphy, USMC. "Cleveland Jolts" in *Recruiter's Bulletin*, vol.3, no.3 (January 1917), 28.

[83] The United States declared war 6 April 1917.

[84] Captain Ross E. Rowell, USMC, ed. "A State of War" in *Recruiter's Bulletin* vol. 3, no. 6 (April 1917), 4.

[85] A Committee of Public Information was appointed, by order of the President and included the Secretaries of State, the Navy, War, and Mr. George Creel as its Chair.

The Marines retained their own Publicity Bureau within this structure.[86] A number of artists on the committee worked for the Marine Corps, such as Joseph C. Leyendecker, Sidney H. Riesenberg, and James Montgomery Flagg.[87] According to George Creel, director of the Committee on Public Information that had jurisdiction over the Division, the artists were assembled for the "production of posters, window-cards, and similar material of pictorial publicity for the use of various government departments and patriotic societies."[88] The system provided accomplished artists to the war effort, who also benefited by this experience.[89]

Along with recruiter slogans emphasizing, *Soldiers of the Sea* and *First to Fight*, the standardization of the Marine body, briefly discussed in 1916, was implemented in World War I recruiting posters. [90] An editorial in the May 1916 *Recruiter's Bulletin* contained the rhetorical question, should the "Marine's figure" be standardized, to "use only one kind of Marine", so the public could "recognize it anywhere, regardless of wording."[91] The answer

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[86] Five Marine Corps posters were designed and distributed with the help of the Division of Pictorial Publicity, U.S. Committee on Public Information in New York. The Marine Corps designed or presented a theme that was sent to the Division and matched with an appropriate artist. Many other posters were designed directly through the Marine Corps Publicity Bureau. James Montgomery Flagg is reported to have painted 47 posters during the war. See Redbook.

[87] The artists L.A. Schafer and C.B. Falls also worked with the Marine figure. The artists Frank E. Schoonover, Gilbert Gaul, Clarence Underwood and John A. Coughlin worked for the Marines, but did not use the Marine Body as sign in their poster design, only in their illustrations for the *Recruiter's Bulletin*. These artists will not be discussed further.

[88] George Creel, *How We Advertised America: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information that Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1920), 7.

[89] Charles Dana Gibson, director of the Division, states "We are fortunate to be alive at this time and to be able to take advantage of the greatest opportunity ever presented to artists." See Rawls, 156.

[90] Recruiters always distinguished the Marine from a sailor by utilizing the slogan "Soldier of the Sea." Early in the Corps's history, Marines were guards in Navy Yards and on ships.

[91] "Advertising Rule of Three" in *Recruiter's Bulletin* vol. 2, no. 7 (May 1916), 16. The editor states the examples of Dutch Cleanser, Gold Dust Twins and Skookum Apples as effectively utilizing the single image approach.

was yes and by 1917 artist Sidney Riesenberg had developed the Poster Zeller figure (see figure 4).[92]

Sergeant Chester A. Zeller was Riesenberg's model, and as a result was nicknamed Poster Zeller. Sgt. Zeller was considered perfect in his proportions, the epitome of the true soldier, and was heavily used within the action code posters:

> This much-pictured Marine weighs 185 pounds. He is so straight limbed and so deep chested and holds himself so well that he appears to weigh less. His chest is forty inches around normally and three inches more when inflated. Thirty-eight inches is his waist measure. His height is five feet nine inches…28 years old…He is the picture of health…His eyes are brown and so is his hair and his skin has a tan tint with the glow of red blood underneath it.[93]

In his 1916 and 1917 posters, *U.S. Marines: "Soldiers of the Sea"* and *First to Fight: Democracy's Vanguard*, Riesenberg emphasized concepts of adventure, patriotism, and action along with the square-jawed masculine ideal of Poster Zeller advancing across a beachhead. A good portion of these posters is taken up with the representation of a party of Marines landing on a tropical beach, a battleship is in the background, an American flag is just behind a trim Marine ready for action in the immediate foreground, his rifle ready and his eyes looking forward. The rest of the posters are either busy with words admonishing recruits to fight with "real fighters" or with smaller illustrations by Axel Tornrose of Marines at battle stations, on guard duty at an American embassy, seeing the sights of foreign lands, and advancing across foreign beaches.[94] These posters are typical examples of the action code in

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[92] Riesenberg, Sidney, *U.S. Marines "Soldiers of the Sea" Interesting Duty-Both Land and Sea*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1916, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard. According to the *Redbook*, little information is available on the pre-WWI artistic career of Sidney H. Riesenberg. However, they note he was one of the most productive artists for the Corps; he created at least six posters from 1915 to 1919.

[93] "Zeller, Model for Recruiting Posters", Archival Records, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

[94] Riesenberg's posters were frequently reprinted. According to the July 1917 edition of the *Recruiter's Bulletin*, his *Rally Around the Flag* poster from 1913, had "four years of remarkable popularity." After the war it was used

pre-World War I Marine recruiting practice because of their including the signifiers of campaign uniforms, rifles, and battle ships. Activity and action here illustrate the work of the Marines rather than tradition and the history of the Corps that was emphasized in the ritual code. Jackson Katz, in "Advertising and the Construction of Violent White Masculinity," situates representations of uniformed soldiers complete with their weapons and gear as active images of militarized masculinity. The type of masculinity embodied by the Poster Zeller figure and characterized by the action code in the recruiting posters leading up to American involvement in World War I, set the stage for the validation of not only that form of masculinity but also of the war itself and its concomitant violence.

References to Marine Corps history and tradition were more apparent in the 1917 *Active Service* poster by Sidney Riesenberg.[95] His "Walking John" emphasized the lone Marine body (see figure 5). Modeled on Poster Zeller, the full-bodied Marine guard, armed with his rifle and with his other hand clenched, walked his post at the Philadelphia Navy Yard; maintaining eye contact with the viewer. Surrounded by action code signifiers – the ship, the navy yard, and other smaller figures in the background - the figure in the extreme foreground resembled an embassy guard in his ceremonial uniform. The words *U.S. Marines* are written across the top register of the poster and *Active Service on Land and Sea* is to the right of the striding Marine, in line with the angle of the lower part of his arm that is holding the rifle. The combination of words and image reduce ambiguity, and identify the figure as a U.S. Marine ready for action yet aware of his duty and traditional role as guard – he is

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because of its "color and patriotic features." See "Study of the Poster Problem." *Recruiter's Bulletin*, vol. 6 no.1 (November 1919), 3.

[95] Sidney H. Riesenberg, *U.S. Marines: "Soldiers of the Sea," Interesting Duty-Both Land and Sea*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1916, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

figuratively patrolling the boundary and the enemy would have to deal with him first.[96] This poster, with both action and ritual code signifiers, offered many variables from both codes to hold the attention of the potential recruit. According to Capt. Mike Visconage, "Riesenberg's "Walking John" was a "mainstay for the recruiting effort from 1917 until 1939."[97]

The lone Marine in James Montgomery Flagg's *Be a U.S. Marine* (c.1917-1918) proffered a more patriotic appeal since he was pictured as openly defending the American flag (see figure 6).[98] Flagg's image was widely used as a poster and for cover designs of books and magazines. The model was Captain Ross E. Rowell, editor of the *Recruiter's Bulletin* 1916-1917, and Flagg filled the background with a 48 star American flag. Flagg reduced the written elements to the simple and bold statement *Be A U.S. Marine!* The Marine is in a field service summer uniform, he wears a campaign hat with the USMC insignia, a bedroll is over his right shoulder, in his raised right hand is a .45 caliber Colt automatic pistol, his left fist is clenched, his face is serious, and he is stepping out of the picture plane toward the viewer. This Marine was ready to take action.

Once the Americans declared war, 18 May 1917, the smooth, colorful poster became an "instrument of mass communication" in the U.S. campaign to enlist men.[99] The campaign appealed to patriotism and manliness, it was a call to duty, at times it shamed or it

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[96] The WWII version, *Active Service on Land, Sea and Air*, includes the element of Air in the wording since the Marines developed their flight capabilities between the two wars.

[97] It was one of the two most popular Marine Corps posters. See Visconage 1986, 38. "Walking John" was the first Marine Corps poster printed with waterproof ink on thin paper; this increased the location possibilities for recruiters. It was one of the first posters used on an A-sign (poster stand) outside the recruiting depot.

[98] James Montgomery Flagg, *Be A U.S. Marine!*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, c.1917-1918, Susan E. Meyer private collection, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard. Flagg's most famous poster was the *Uncle Sam Wants You*. The artist was the model through the use of a mirror.

exploited past victories and military actions. In a sense, it was the war that gave the recruiting poster its greatest impetus; in return, the poster gave the war and the Marine Corps acceptability for a reluctant citizenry.[100] According to Robert Lindsay, the evidence of success for the Marine Corps was the greater number of applicants than was needed to fill their quota,

> Perhaps the judicious conclusion is that the timely combination of both principal factors – deeds plus intelligent PR methods – served to give the Marine Corps in World War I a reputation that remains to this day the envy of every military service in the world.[101]

World War I Marine Corps poster production contain signifiers for both the action and ritual codes. Although these themes in the posters were developed separately as either action or ritual, they were sometimes used in combination. There appears to be slightly fewer pure ritual code posters during this period. More often, ritualized elements occur with action signifiers, which conceded an emphasis on the action code for wartime recruiting. What remained consistent between both codes was the representation of the white, male Marine, which continued to dominate Marine Corps recruiting practice. In World War I, the consistent use of the Poster Zeller figure personifying the Marine Corps ideal was the foundation for both recruiting themes. In this way, the Marine Corps built an image of the Marine that was recognizable by all of society.

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[99] Rickards, 8.

[100] Phyllis Zauner, in "The Patriotic Poster" (*The Retired Officer* (July 1982), 24), correlates the "height of poster advertising with the beginning of WWI."

[101] Lindsay, 23, 25-6, 34. In August 1916 the National Defense Act approved an increase from 344 officers and 9,921 enlisted men to 597 officers and 14,981 enlisted; with a further increase of 3,000 officers and enlisted in the event of national emergency. On 6 April 1917 the Corps had 419 officers and just over 13,000 enlisted personnel, on 22 May 1917 Congress voted a wartime expansion to 31,197 men. See James A. Donovan Jr., *The United States Marine Corps* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1967), 14.

Marine Recruiting Posters World War II to 1957

When Germany invaded Poland, President Franklin D. Roosevelt proclaimed, on 8 September 1939, a "limited national emergency."[102] In the spring of 1940, Germany launched a series of invasions that occupied Belgium, France, Denmark and Norway, a process that resulted in the British evacuation at Dunkirk and the fall of France. This crisis in Europe prompted the first round of Marine Corps posters for the Second World War. The posters produced during this early period of the war were both reissues of successful First World War posters as well as new designs by artists, some of whom had worked during World War I. For example, in 1940 the Marine Corps had Sergeant Paul Woyshner update, redesign, and reissue Sidney Riesenberg's "Walking John" poster. His *U.S. Marines: Active Service, Land, Sea, Air* indicated Marine Corps expansion into aviation by the addition of the word Air and the placement of aircraft into the image. District of Columbia buildings were added to the montage of the Philadelphia Navy Yard, the superstructure of the battleship was modified from a cage to tripod masts, forward gun turret positions were changed, and smoke was eliminated from the stacks. Uniform regulation changes were reflected in the shape of the cap and the addition of collar insignia, another hashmark was added to the Marine's uniform sleeve.[103]

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[102] Germany began its invasion on 1 September 1939. According to research in the *Redbook*, on 30 June 1939 there were 18,052 active duty Marines. An increase of 25,000 men in the enlisted strength of the Corps was authorized (the contemporary statutory wartime strength for the Marine Corps) and permission was granted to recall volunteer officers and men from the retired list.

[103] Woyshner, Sgt. Paul. *U.S. Marines: Active Service Land Sea Air*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1940, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard. Hashmark: Service stripe. Woyshner, who continued working for the Marine Corps Publicity Bureau after WWI, was productive. Other posters by him include from 1941 *Always on the Alert Land-Sea-Sky Enlist Today U.S. Marines* and *U.S. Marines on Land at Sea in the Air Defend America*. Both original paintings are in the U.S. Marines Historical Centre collection. In 1942 Woyshner wrote *U.S. Marines Deliver the Goods Too* on a delivery truck in Pittsfield, Mass. A poster was produced when that slogan was combined with Vic Guinness's image of two Marine machine-gunners in a prone position.

Since the United States was not formally at war, emphasis was on defence and readiness rather than aggressive advancement, as advocated by the National Preparedness Campaign. There was an acceleration of mobilization in both the Navy and the Marine Corps. This set the stage, in September 1940, for Congress to pass the Selective Training and Service Act, legislation requiring the registration of all male citizens between twenty-one and thirty-six years old and same aged aliens who had naturalization intention papers. [104] Allan Millett states that the mobilization of 1940-1 placed the Marine Corps in a general state of readiness and for Marine Corps Headquarters the "greatest organizational concession to the mobilization was the creation of a public relations division of five Marines to coordinate recruiting publicity."[105]

To enhance the numbers for the Marine Corps, the Division of Public Relations was formalized in 1941. On 1 July 1941 Brigadier General Robert L. Denig, USMC was appointed as Director of the Division of Public Relations.[106] This Division perfected an indelible system of communication of Marine Corps concerns and issues. The effectiveness of those messages, which was to create an image of the Marine Corps in the broad public imagination, relied on past accomplishments, and the "growing prestige of the Marine Corps" through the "educational program conducted by the Public Relations [Division] and the Recruiting Service."[107] This educational program, which included Brigadier General

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[104] For a discussion on the USMC WWII readiness period see Allan R. Millett, "World War II: Defeating Japan in the South Pacific, 1939-1944", *Semper Fidelis: The History of the United States Marine Corps* (New York: The Free Press, 1980), 344-87.

[105] Ibid, 347.

[106] The Division of Public Relations initially consisted of Denig; Major John S. Winch, USMC; First Sergeant Walter J. Shipman, USMC; Major George T. Van der Hoef, USMC; Lieutenant John W. Thomason, III; and 4 civilian clerical staff.

[107] Lindsay, 6.

Denig's idea for a combat correspondent and photographer system, involved informing the public about Marine activities through the reissuing of popular World War I posters and providing small town newspapers with copy and photographs regarding their hometown boys, as well as limited information about campaigns. Recruiting posters were also distributed in small format for use in buses and trains, and in large format as highway billboards.

Photolithography was the technical basis for much of the poster production during World War II when original oil paintings were photographed and then printed as posters in great numbers. James Montgomery Flagg provided two paintings for poster designs. *Want Action? Join U.S. Marine Corps* (c.1941-2) was used repeatedly throughout World War II (see figure 7).[108] Flagg used the techniques common in wartime posters for his designs. He rejuvenated the action code of Marines landing and advancing across a beach from WWI where the amphibious nature of the Marine Corps was illustrated by Marines wading through waves to reach shore. All figures are shown combat ready, their rifles raised above their heads to protect them from water damage or held easily by one hand, and they are dressed in combat gear more in line with WWI than with the present situation. Dominating the foreground was a smiling combat-ready Marine or a Marine carrying an M-1 Garand rifle and old style gas mask, wearing a khaki field uniform with a World War I helmet design. In the poster *Want Action?* the Marine offers his hand in the spirit of brotherhood. Ships in the distance and his state of readiness with pack and gun indicate he was shipping out and welcomed accompaniment. His non-aggressive demeanour belies the underlying deadly

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[108] James Montgomery Flagg, *Want Action? Join U.S. Marine Corps!*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, c.1941-2, oil/canvas, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, the model was Sergeant Charles

nature of his wartime function. In this poster, the Marine Corps' representation of war as a brotherly adventure full of action and excitement bears little relation to reality. For Richard Dyer, in *The Matter of Images*, "the complex, shifting business of re-presenting, reworking, recombining representations is in tension with the reality to which representations refer and which they affect."[109] The Marine Corps' careful construction of its recruiting material, seen in its depiction of a selected group of signifiers of militarism countered by the friendly Marine, displaces the implications and fears generated by the American entry into the Second World War.

With the patent "absence of a generation of 1914" within an atmosphere of isolationism, but under an edict to expand both in personnel and capabilities during a "limited national emergency," the Marine Corps attempted to establish an unbroken continuity of image between WWI and WWII to enervate the nation to be ready for war.[110] The battleship was a familiar signifier for American military mobility: these ships with their cargo of troops and guns ended the isolationism and literally transported the United States into the war. The Marine figure was the basic motif used in these early WWII posters, where action and ritual codes invited the potential recruit to realize his desire for action under the aegis of the Marine Corps. This phase of the readiness campaign ended in 1941.

William Fitzmaurice, USMC, Marine recruiting officer at Perth Amboy, New Jersey. Fitzmaurice was commissioned a Second Lieutenant 13 August 1943 and became a Lieutenant Colonel of Marines.

[109] Dyer, 1993, 3.

[110] Mosse, 1990, 203. Also see Ambrose, Stephen E., "The Military and American Society: An Overview" in *The Military and American Society.* ed. Stephen E. Ambrose and James A. Barber Jr., 3-18. (New York: Free Press, 1972), 3-4. Stephen E. Ambrose states that the attitude in 1939 regarding a military build-up was overwhelmingly "isolationist, which in its turn was a reflection of geography....No power in the Western Hemisphere could mount anything resembling a serious threat to the United States and no European power could project enough force across the Atlantic Ocean to challenge American security."

On 7 December 1941, the Japanese naval air force attacked American forces stationed in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. On 8 December the Congress of the United States declared war on Japan, on 11 December there was a joint congressional declaration of war on Germany and Italy, and on 20 December 1941 the Selective Training and Service Act was amended to extend the requirements for registration of men to include all those from 18 to 64 years. Also extended was the liability for service in the land and naval forces of the United States to include men twenty to forty-four years of age.[111] Mobilization dramatically increased the number of recruits. At Parris Island (the Marine Corps training facility in South Carolina) the average monthly number of recruits went from 190 to 1,600.[112] Recruitment priorities shifted to differentiating the USMC from the other services.

In this context, it is important to remember that the Marines are soldiers not sailors. The Marine Corps is a part of the Department of the Navy and has "co-equal existence with the U.S. Navy," which means they function on an equal basis as distinct services.[113] Marines were transported by ship and landed on beaches to constitute the frontline in American military action. By these actions, the Marine Corps upheld the interests of the American Government and saw itself as the main protector of the nation, the flag, and by extension, the American people. This paternalistic image was heightened and emphasized in times of conflict. For the Marine Corps there were many aspects to being ready: "personal readiness,

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[111] Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor precipitated the entrance of the United States into the war and concentrated Marine actions in the Pacific. Since Japan, Italy and Germany had allied themselves on 11 December 1941 the United States in turn declared war against Germany and Italy. The Teen Age Draft Act of 13 November 1942 reduced the age limit for persons liable for training under the Selective Service from 20 to 18 years.

[112] Millett, 348.

[113] Benis Frank to author, 17 March 2004. Mr. Frank also indicates that the Secretary of the Navy will be renamed "the Secretary of the Navy and Marine Corps, which denotes that equality"

unit readiness, and material readiness."[114] During the heightened concern about national security immediately following Pearl Harbor, recruiting posters played an even more important role in communicating to the larger public, imparting a calm, patriotic message that the Marines were ready for war, they were on their way to fight, and they would do their duty. These posters, produced after the declaration of war in 1941, continued to reclaim the existing ritual and action codes used in previous posters in many varied and flexible ways.

A notable example of the exclusive use of the ritual code is Haddon Sundblom's 1942 *READY: Join U.S. Marines, Land, Sea, Air* recruiting poster. The focus in this poster is the representation of a "real" Marine (see figure 8).[115] Sundblom had dispensed with the use of other signifiers, such as battleships and flags, since it was the elements inherent to the ideal Marine body wearing the dress blue uniform that gave narrative value to the poster. Exploration of the specificity of each element of the ritual code found in the uniform offers opportunity to distinguish various subcodes in this poster. For example, the fourragere on the Marine's left shoulder alluded to past action in Belleau Wood during World War I and a time when the Marines were mythologized as invincible and formidable. Even though the meaning of this braid on the Marine's shoulder may be beyond the knowledge of the average citizen, the fourragere fits under the aegis of the decorated uniform as symbol. The stern expression of this Marine was intimidating, perhaps intending to relay a message of resolve and commitment to the fight at an early phase in the war when victories against the Japanese military were infrequent to nonexistent. The words, Ready, Join, U.S. Marines, Land, Sea,

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[114] Donovan, 66.

[115] Haddon Sundblom, *Ready: Join U.S. Marines, Land, Sea, Air*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 2 October 1942, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, P-61, REQN #1546, 10-02-42, 15,000 produced, Series 436 PB. Sundblom presented the original paintings for the *READY* poster to Lieutenant Col. Chester L. Fordney, USMCR, director of the Chicago recruiting district, in March 1942.

Air, in combination with the image, reduced the ambiguity of that single figure in the poster. A complex message was built from the union of a number of mental images already found in the public sphere, i.e. the decorated uniform and the militarized, masculine body. These mental images reiterated the figure of the strong, capable U.S. Marine, ready to go to war despite the disaster and confusion of Pearl Harbor. The connotation of this symbol is that of heroism and bravery that implies a link between the uniform and the violence of military action.[116] Yet, the ritualized nature of the uniform, its lack of overt references to action, and its emphasis on the spectacle of the uniform itself distance this symbol from its connotations of violence. The power of the dress-blue uniform, unlike the uniform of the action code found on the Poster Zeller figure and despite its placement on an intimidating masculine figure, as outlined above, places this representation closer to the less confrontational, ideal masculinity embodied by the ritual code. It also reflected a conservative tendency to fall back on images of tradition and stoic resolve when faced with adversity, in this case a national crisis.

This impressive Marine was sustained in public memory by tapping into the traditional affiliation with organized sport maintained by the USMC. As discussed with regards to the Poster Zeller figure in World War I, there is a connection between the symbolic use of military and sports related imagery and the furtherance of violent masculinity.[117] Through the efforts of enterprising recruiters in Pittsburgh, PA, a replica of Sundblom's Marine, 32 feet high and 15 feet wide, was placed near the scoreboard in the left field at Forbes Field. On 28 June 1943, it was unveiled and dedicated prior to a baseball

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[116] Katz, 352.

[117] See Katz, 355.

game between the Pittsburgh Pirates and the Cincinnati Reds. Blending the spectacle of sports with that of the Marines facilitated the development of a shared context or frame of mind for the spectators. Whether or not this representation approximated the real life of a Marine did not matter, it created enough appeal, meaning, desire, or like-mindedness to get willing subjects to the recruitment depots.

With their emphases on readiness, flexibility, and their amphibious capabilities, as a direct extension of the wishes of the U.S. Administration, the U.S. Marines were heavily involved in the Second World War. The Pacific was the Marines' war in all respects, because that is what they trained for in pre-World War II landing exercises and in the amphibious warfare nature of operations against Japanese-held islands. So it could be assumed that Marine Corps posters would have contained an action code indicating the extensive involvement the Marines were afforded in that arena. This was not the case. Although recruiting posters conveyed a sense of realism by providing limited imagery of actual campaigns, strident censorship only allowed the publication of innocuous or out-of-date images. These strategies were based on security rationale or on the desire to decrease the impact of actual images of war on the public.[118] As in their predecessors, action code and ritual code were present in these recruiting posters but characteristically they did not reference a particular location or campaign. Marines were depicted striding through the surf toward an undisclosed beach or in a jungle setting, they were shown in full campaign gear against a solid-colored background, or they were depicted in dress blue uniform on the deck of an aircraft carrier with ocean, aircraft, and other carriers in the distance. Like the posters

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[118] The Division of Public Relations for the Marine Corps was "charged with the editing and censorship of...articles before publication." (Letter of Instruction No.337, 9 February 1943). An example: photographs

of the First World War, these posters relied on the depiction of the white, male Marine supported by signifiers for the action and/or the ritual modes to communicate the overwhelming involvement of all facets of the Marine Corps in the Second World War.

By 1945, however, recruiting posters began to reference identifiable battle action. Right after World War II, a great number of photographs were published and information about the war became more available. Jorge Lewinski states, "the public at last were able to see the reality of the war, the havoc it created."[119] Recruiters capitalized on this heightened public interest. In 1945, the Division of Information, HQMC, selected Marine Corps artists to paint specified Pacific campaigns in which Marines fought.[120] These images were produced for the NAVMC 6000 poster series.[121] This series relied heavily on the action code and the white, male Marine depicted in a group action. Each scene was captioned and published as a recruiting poster, together with the insignia of participating units, and labelled with the slogan *Enlist Now...U.S. Marine Corps.* Ten posters were produced and all ten were reproduced in 1952.[122] The informative elements, dates, and brief descriptors on the posters contributed to their popularity; often they were framed and hung in offices. This exposure effectively kept the now historical Marine Corps progress of World War II in the public sphere and naturalized the Marine Corps role as an efficient instrument for American foreign policy

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taken by W.E. Smith, a photojournalist on Guam, appeared in *Life* magazine three to four months after the battle.

[119] Jorge Lewinski, *The Camera At War: A history of war photography from 1848 to the present day* (London: W.H. Allen & Co. Ltd., 1978), 136.

[120] In August 1945, the Division of Public Relations became the Division of Public Information.

[121] NAVMC indicates that the Navy and the Marine Corps produced the posters. The number 6000 indicates the print run held in 1945. Records are not complete, therefore, generally poster numbers up to 6000 were produced before 1945 and numbers after 6000 were produced after that date.

[122] The posters covered the following battles of the Pacific arena: Guadalcanal (November 1942), Bougainville (November 1943-January 1944), Tarawa (November 1943), Cape Gloucester (December 1943-March 1944),

implementation during the tensions of the Cold War. The elements common to this series involved Marines, bedraggled by the rigours of combat, wearied by the continued need to do their duty, yet adamant and resolved. I will discuss two of the most reproduced posters, *Guadalcanal* and *Iwo Jima*, both painted by Sgt. Tom Lovell.

In the Guadalcanal-themed poster, Marines are fording a river in single file (see figure 9).[123] They are in jungle, which is alternately light and dark, they all carry rifles and are dressed in combat utilities (their shirts are open at the neck, sleeves are rolled up). These Marines have requisition WWII helmets, their combat helmet straps hanging loose. The Marine in the foreground is dramatically lit by sunlight. Through facial expression and body language Lovell implies a guarded resolve in these Marines on active duty. The written words in the text box, and the unit insignia identify the episode as Guadalcanal. Guadalcanal, the first American victory of the Pacific war, was hard won and stands as a turning point for the American forces: after it the Marine Corps and other Allied Forces began the push to Japan. During the war it affected subsequent attitudes about Marine capabilities and the evolution of Marine Corps duties. Guadalcanal also influenced the image of the Marine Corps. According to James Donovan:

> Beards, torn-off sleeves and trousers, individual and non-uniform clothing, even an affected slovenliness, became the norm and the stereotype for veteran jungle fighters—habits and practices that lingered and influenced Marine Corps standards in the field for some time afterward.[124]

Marshall Islands (January-March 1944), Saipan/Tinian (June-July 1944), Guam (July/August 1944), Peleliu (September 1944), Iwo Jima (February-March 1945), and Okinawa (April-June 1945).

[123] Sgt. Tom Lovell, *Enlist Now U.S. Marine Corps: Guadalcanal*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1945, 1952, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, P-72, NAVMC Series 6000.

[124] Donovan, 45.

Lovell's poster clearly depicts this type of Marine. It is an action-coded image with a romantic twist since the central figures look like the leading men of contemporary war movies such as John Wayne in *Back to Bataan* (1945) or *Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949). The generalized nature of the painted image in the Guadalcanal poster (the Marines could have been anywhere in a jungle on patrol) opened its representation to a wider use as a standard for the action code. All the posters of the series used the image of the battle-worn Marine in various combat circumstances. The "eventless" character of these poster images, with their universalized action signifiers relating to the tough Marines and hard-won battles of World War II, facilitated the assimilation of the poster messages by spectators who could now bring their own information from outside the poster's visual boundaries.[125] There were references and images of the war in many different arenas beyond the posters in the post-war period, including the blossoming motion picture productions, *Life* and *Time* magazine, and *Saturday Evening Post.* The reiteration of the Guadalcanal Marines as sign simply emphasized the connotations of resolution, conviction, and trustworthiness attributed to Marines in general by the American public. This basis for the effectiveness of the Guadalcanal image differed from the element of repetition used with the Iwo Jima poster image (see figure 10).[126] The Iwo Jima image had power because its referent was unmistakable and the dominance of the image across all media made it instantly recognizable.

The raising of the American flag on Iwo Jima epitomized the capacity of a single picture to permeate public awareness and remain in memory as a symbol of a particular war and of a particular kind of accomplishment in a war. The first flag raised on Mount

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[125] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: British Broadcasting Corps. and Penguin Books, 1987), 153.

Suribachi was in the early stages of its capture by American forces after days of intense fighting. One of the Marine patrols that reached the summit raised a small American flag on a short piece of Japanese pipe. Another patrol reached the summit with a larger flag, its raising was photographed by Associated Press photographer Joe Rosenthal. Lovell based his poster on the Rosenthal photograph, where five Marines and a Navy hospital corpsman raised the larger American ensign.[127] The poster depicts the men in battle utilities, with one Marine close to the base of the flag's standard, and five others tightly grouped in the action of lifting both the standard and the flag. The Marines are set against a pale, slightly clouded, blue sky on top of ground that appears deeply rutted and covered with the shattered remains of trees and vegetation. The location is not acknowledged, except in a general sense. It is the action of the Marines that signifies that this is Iwo Jima. The accompanying words and unit insignia included in the poster strengthen the information around the image thereby increasing its significance.

Iwo Jima was the largest all-Marine amphibious operation of World War II, and it has an important place in the Marine Corps imaginary. One illustration of this would be Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal's statement in 1945, "the raising of that flag on Suribachi means there will be a Marine Corps for the next 500 years."[128] Seventy-two thousand Marines assaulted the heavily fortified island in February 1945. In 36 days the Marines destroyed a reinforced, disciplined force of Japanese and attained all objectives. The

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[126] Sgt. Tom Lovell, *Enlist Now U.S. Marine Corps: Iwo Jima*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1945, 1952, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, P-76, NAVMC Series 6000.

[127] Mount Suribachi was scaled on February 23; members of the 28th Marines of the 5th Division raised the flag. Rosenthal's photograph continues to be widely used; it is a sign that epitomizes Marine Corps perseverance. The six figures and standard are cast in bronze (the flag is real) for the United States Marine Corps Memorial by Arlington National Cemetery, Washington, D.C. The memorial was developed as a tribute to all Marines who have given their lives while on duty.

landing force sustained 26,000 casualties. More than 6,000 died.[129] William Manchester, a USMC sergeant in the Pacific, wrote:

> You tripped over strings of viscera fifteen feet long, over bodies, which had been cut in half at the waist. Legs and arms, and heads bearing only necks, lay fifty feet from the closest torsos. As night fell the beachhead reeked with the stench of burning flesh.[130]

It was an image rich with signification that was freely reiterated by the Marine Corps as a sign of its legitimacy, tenacity, and perseverance. It is the central image of the Marine Corps Memorial just at the boundary of the vast Arlington National Cemetery.[131] It is an image that the Marine Corps continue to use as an expression of the action code.

The style of the posters in the NAVMC 6000 series continued to be utilized throughout the 1950's and into the 1960's. In so doing it coincided with Cold War militarism, the expansion of the industrial-military complex, and the prevalent view that America was taking "its proper place as a world leader after the war, so that there would indeed be peace in the world."[132] The prevailing visual images of World War II, particularly those dependent on the action code, were the foundational imagery for Cold War and early Vietnam recruiting.

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[128] Millett, 430.

[129] 8 December 1944: USAAF begins 72-day bombardment of Iwo Jima. 19 February 1945: US 4th and 5th Marine Divisions land on Iwo Jima, suffering 2,420 casualties in first day. 20 February 1945: Marines capture Airfield Number 1 on Iwo Jima and move towards Mt. Suribachi. 23 Feb. 1945: Suribachi stormed, and American flag raised on the crest.

[130] John Keegan, Richard Holmes and John Gau, *Soldiers: A History of Men in Battle* (London, Eng.: Hamish Hamilton Ltd., 1985), 264.

[131] Located at the north end of Arlington National Cemetery the memorial is in a general line with the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument. It was dedicated on 10 November 1954. It is 78 feet high. The figures are 32 feet high and the flagpole is 60 feet. The concrete base with its polished black granite has gold lettering with the names and dates of every Marine Corps engagement since the Corps' founding in 1775.

[132] James Oliver Robertson, "Marching As To War" in *American Myth, American Reality* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1980), 333.

There are two notable posters from the 1950s - *Join Today!: man to man...be a Marine* (1955) and *Join the U.S. Marines: Stand Out* (1956) – that maintained a presence for the ritual coded theme (see figures 11, 12).[133] The emphasis on body type, physical fitness, and the challenges to potential recruits inherent in posters like Sundblom's *READY* poster of 1942 (see figure 8), fostered the concept that the recruit must fit into a uniform rather than have it fitted to him. The 1955 *Join Today!* poster shows a trim, khaki-clad Marine holding a potent symbol of the dress blue uniform. With body and uniform separated, the two central motifs of Marine Corps recruiting posters are fractured, yet both take on their own power of signification. The belt on the upheld uniform is tightly cinched, similar to the figure in the earlier Sundblom poster, making it appear as though it were on a body. The uniform is independent from the Marine but his presence signifies that he would fit that ritualized uniform. The dress blue uniform hangs as an invitation to potential recruits to see if they too, could fit it. That invitation was reiterated by the implied communication between the viewer and the gesturing Marine: he uses his right thumb to indicate his status as role model. The direct eye contact offered by the Marine facilitates the implied communication of the written words "man to man." The viewer is drawn as an equal into the manly space of the Marine. The barriers to identification with the Marine were lowered here through the emphasis on the spirit of camaraderie in the exchange.

The 1956 poster *Join the U.S. Marines: Stand Out* has no eye contact, although it is implied in the frontal placement of the Marine. The viewer is drawn into the constructed

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[133] *Join Today!: man to man...be a Marine*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1955, Marine Corps Museum, Quantico, VA., P-169, NAVMC Series 6059; *Join the U.S. Marines: Stand Out*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1956, Marine Corps Museum, Quantico, VA., P-177, #734-65, NAVMC Series 6070. To date the identification of artists for posters from this period forward is difficult; there are fewer Marine Corps artists and more material created in house by JWT. Where possible I try to include this information.

space of the poster through the illustration of an audience of admiring civilians with whom the reader is compelled to identify.[134] In this poster, the Marine body appears as if it were a partial view of Sundblom's *READY* Marine. All the ritualized Marine elements are present: square-jaw, dress blue uniform, and a trim body. The economy of the image recognizes the power of visual memory to reconstruct the whole Marine on the basis of the iconic signifiers of body and uniform. The transition from the need for full-bodied Marines making direct eye contact to the fragmented iconic indications of the Marine body is illustrated by the progression from the 1942 Sundblom poster to the 1956 *Stand Out* Marine, evidence that the ritual code of the Marine image had entered the public sphere and that the public had the ability to fill in the blanks.

In *Fallen Soldiers*, George Mosse contends that the "systemization of symbols" serves to "sanitize, dramatize, and romanticize war."[135] This is an applicable tenet for the Corps's recruiting practice. There was a systematic projection and distillation of the ideal Marine, within the context of the action and ritual code to this point in the history of Marine Corps posters. The Poster Zeller/John Wayne image of action and the restrained power of the ceremonial Marine worked in tandem to maintain the presence of the Marine Corps as a desirable destination for young men wishing to serve their country. The masculine formations in warfare and society support each other and attempt to maintain the power structures of masculinity that are necessary for the continuance of the United States' militarized stance in their foreign policies. As a precondition to enact social change, to

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[134] The informal grouping of onlookers in the poster, sight-lines that intercept the sight-lines of the poster viewer, and the forward position of the Marine, as if he were walking past the viewer, all combine to include the viewer into the group of admirers.

[135] Mosse, 1990, 59.

better understand the social formations that support the recruitment of young people into violence, and to engage in a critical reading of the connection between militarism, violence, and masculinity it is necessary to demystify the processes of power that rely on the "public support given by citizens raised to believe that being patriotic means supporting their nation's wars and military actions without questioning" their validity and debunking their claim as legitimate "role models of great conquerors, heroic warriors, and brave soldier."[136]

In this chapter I have shown that the Marine Corps has relied on two dominant themes in its recruiting practice over its history. Until the Vietnam era, there appeared to be a balanced use of both an action code and ritual code in the posters. Whether the Marines were striding through the waves on some distant shore or standing at attention in their dress blue uniform, their significance rested with their depiction of the Marine Corps as a multifaceted and flexible organization. It took the Tet Offensive of the Vietnam War to disrupt this continuum of imagery.

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[136] Myriam Miedzian, *Boys Will Be Boys: Breaking the Link Between Masculinity and Violence* (New York: Anchor Books, 1991), 34.

Chapter 2

Masculinity and Nationalism in Vietnam Era Posters

When action and ritual codes of Marine Corps recruiting posters are recognized as framing devices in the depiction of the white, male Marine, rather than as arbitrary marketing mechanisms, their patterns of use can be seen to represent belief systems operating at given periods. In Chapter 1, I established that throughout their recruiting history, the Marine Corps relied on both these codes to represent themselves as guardians of the nation and the nation's interests, at home and abroad. While the ritual code served to remind viewers of the long history of the Corps, and was particularly resonant with its depiction of the Marine Corps as a stable institution, the action code, with its motifs of combat activity and the materiel of war, was more forceful in its representation of an aggressive masculinity. Throughout, the posters maintained their normative function of representing the connection between ideas of masculinity and conceptions of the nation state, often equating military prowess with national strength. During the worst period of the Vietnam conflict (1968-1970), this appearance was important to uphold, while multiple images of embattled, wounded, and dead Marines permeated the media, and conflict and protest over the war were evident across the country.

In this chapter, I will examine Marine Corps recruiting posters produced during the period of American military involvement in Vietnam. The Second Indochina Conflict, defined by U.S. involvement in the war, went from 1965 to 1973, although its edges are fuzzy since the Americans had been in Vietnam since 1945 and only evacuated their embassy in 1975. The U.S. entered the conflict to shore up support for the South Vietnamese Government, which was under pressure from the North Vietnamese Government to amalgamate into a single country, as defined by the 1954 Geneva Convention. For the

Marines it was their longest war (1965-1971) and prompted internal debates about its military standards and its mission. During that time 794,000 Americans served as Marines, compared to 669,100 in World War II. There were 101,574 Marines killed or wounded. At its peak in 1969 there were 314,917 U.S. military personnel, 85,996 were Marines, on active duty in Vietnam. It remains a watershed event in U.S. history and has been equated with the American Civil War in the 1860s and the Great Depression in the 1930s.[137] For Robert Schulzinger, U.S. participation in the conflict "originated from ignorance and excessive optimism and escalated even though officials became dubious of eventual success."[138] This set of circumstances released an unprecedented degree of public criticism against not only the Marines but also every other facet of American society. It acted as a catalyst for domestic social upheavals and created great chasms in American politics, foreign policy, culture, values, and economy. It was the dominant issue in American foreign affairs for over a decade, the military stalemate of 1968 in particular rendering foreign policy initiatives ineffective and mistrusted.

As I will demonstrate, Marine Corps recruiting posters from the first period of U.S. involvement in Vietnam – *The Marine Corps Builds Men* series – employ the action code as a means of encouraging enlistments. Between 1965 and 1968 the overall strength of the Marine Corps increased by over sixty percent. It was during this time that the requirements for the fighting in Vietnam dictated that the Corps change from supporting long-term enlistments of three and four years to relying on two-year enlistments. Although all enlistments were either draftees or volunteers (the end of conscription was in 1973), Marines

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[137] Schulzinger, ix.

[138] Ibid.

considered themselves to be volunteers. They based this on the indirect benefits of attracting draft-motivated volunteers into the Corps, which resulted from the policy where draftees could choose where they would serve.[139] This legitimated Marine recruiters' claims that the Corps was still an elite, all-volunteer service. By 1968, however, media coverage of the conflict began to show troubling images from the Front, and public protests and anti-war rallies demonstrated dwindling support for American activities in Vietnam. This negative public sentiment complicated recruitment, and as a result, by 1968, the Marine Corps was below its authorized number of personnel. The Marine Corps responded to this recruiting problem with a new campaign, the *Ask a Marine* series (1968-1970) that relied exclusively on the ritual code to convey a message of pride in the Corps and in the nation. As I will show, this dramatic shift to the ritual code is unprecedented in Marine Corps recruiting history and can be directly related to the negative public sentiment towards the Vietnam war. Once the Marines began to withdraw from Vietnam in 1969, recruiting posters reprised the action theme, in order to rebuild their numbers and their reputation.

The Marine Corps Builds Men

The cultivation of masculine myths generated by World War II activity influenced Vietnam conflict recruiting. As with the influence of World War I imagery on World War II, during the Vietnam war there was an attempt to establish "an unbroken continuity which would rejuvenate the nation."[140] The reiteration of the masculine, military image through poster, film and advertising influenced the "grunt" of the Vietnam conflict, whose formative years were within the context of a country that had won a war, which helps explain the

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[139] The Marines made four draft calls between November 1965 and March 1966, its next draft call was April 1968, immediately after the Tet Offensive. These were followed by draft calls in March and December 1968. After that point there was a reliance on the draft until February 1970.

prevalence of reprinted posters and late night reruns of World War II movies. In *Long Time Passing*, Myra MacPherson affirms that "the young men of the generation were destined to be marked by their fathers' World War II memories" and that it was that war that "touched and motivated the Vietnam soldier, the war they heard about from infancy."[141] The valorised Marines and battles of World War II clearly encoded that being a Marine was a fitting activity for young men. Once in Marine recruit training, or "boot camp," this imagery was reinforced, particularly for those recruits who needed help identifying with the Marine mindset. One special motivational tool used was the John Wayne movie *Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949).[142] Put on view for hesitant recruits during the early years of the Vietnam conflict, over a decade after its release, and before the production of another John Wayne film *The Green Berets* (1968), *Sands of Iwo Jima* reiterated the Marine Corps's signature image of authority, resolve, and diligence. It re-presented action code role models from a defining, inspirational moment in Marine Corps history in an attempt to establish historical markers or touchstones for the new recruits. It offered a coherent narrative about Marines and their connection to the maintenance of the nation.

From 1960 to 1963 the U.S. armed forces initiated a number of policies relating to deferments and standards in response to an excess in the number of personnel in the armed forces, primarily due to the greater numbers of potential and current enlistments of baby boomers. The Marine Corps was the exception. In 1960 the Marine Corps began a strong recruiting campaign that resulted, by the eve of the Vietnam War, in its highest number of

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[140] Mosse, 1990, 181.

[141] Myra MacPherson, *Long Time Passing: Vietnam and the Haunted Generation* (New York: Signet, Doubleday & Co., 1984), 58.

[142] Brown, 34.

personnel in a peacetime period.[143] While the other branches of the military were limiting their recruitment efforts, the Marine Corps was expanding. In 1961 the administration of President John F. Kennedy recommended that the Marine Corps expand its numbers from 175,000 to 190,000 and by 1963 increased overall defense spending by $10 billion U.S.[144] The Cold War remained a vivid reality and this occupied the Kennedy administration. According to Robert Schulzinger, "President Kennedy and his principal foreign affairs advisors considered the communist-nationalist insurrection in South Vietnam part of this global competition."[145] But, at this stage the extent of American involvement in Southeast Asia was limited to the distribution of military supplies to different factions in the area. The American military was not directly involved.

During this period of military build-up preceding the U.S.'s entry into Vietnam, the Marine Corps released a series of posters employing the slogan "The United States Marine Corps Builds Men" (1961-1965). The early *Builds Men* series tended to be stark and iconic, perhaps reflecting the lower budgets of the pre-Kennedy years, and combined the slogan with a rotating selection of nouns that objectified Marine *esprit de corps*, such as honor, spirit, and pride. Repetition of these words and the frontal portrait of a Marine that establishes direct eye contact provide memory tags to connect with the American people. Typically, posters from the series show a bright sunny day; each one referencing different action-related activities through the inclusion of military gear, weapons, and combat uniforms. A

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[143] Millett, 543.

[144] Ibid, 545.

[145] Schulzinger, 97.

good example of this clean look is the 1961 *Join the Marines: Esprit* poster (see figure 13).[146] As part of the *Builds Men* series, this poster attempts to embody what the Marines emphasize is a common spirit between the members of the Corps. Here the partial portrait of a smiling Marine in a dress blue uniform in the foreground and three Marines in combat gear running through clean water in the background also seek to engender enthusiasm and excitement about their role and job. For Jackson Katz, the use of both ritual and action code in this poster position it within the sphere of military masculinity, a direct connection is being made here between the confident, smiling male figure and the images of combat behind him. More than an illustration of the activities performed by members of the Marine Corps, the figures running through the water in a scene reminiscent of such war films as *Sands of Iwo Jima* reference a fantasy of pure masculine strength and achievement. When these earlier *Builds Men* posters were in production, the United States was at peace. If we read them as consistent with this less demanding atmosphere, they simply and clearly communicate various aspects of Marine life and function. They act as an invitation to join an organization, to embark on a career, one that provides a space for the exercise of traditionally-defined male activities.

A variation on this technique, which is present in the 1963 *The Marine Corps Builds Men: Body, Mind, Spirit* poster, is the use of a number of smaller action oriented figures, reinforced by the words "land", "sea", and "air" that offer a clear message of action and adventure. These multiple images of Marine activity represent the greater variety of

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146 *Join the Marines: Esprit*, recruiting poster, photomontage/paper, 1961, Marine Corps Museum, Quantico, VA., P-178, NAVMC Series 6791, #765-65.

opportunities available for a new Marine (see figure 14).[147] As with the earlier *Builds Men* poster from 1961, there is a large partial portrait of a white, male Marine in a dress blue uniform. Dramatic lighting on the primary figure privileges the Marine Corps emblem (eagle, globe and anchor) on the hat, collar, epaulette, and buttons. By 1965 the Marine Corps was enlisting only volunteers on long enlistments and their emphasis was on stability, longevity, and the development of highly skilled combat units. Turnover of Marine personnel was not an issue. Mid-1960s posters in this series move away from the iconic figures and instead show groups of active Marines, which coincide with the entry of the United States into the Vietnam conflict. As mentioned earlier, this approach coincided with the increased involvement of the J. Walter Thompson Advertising Co. in Marine Corps marketing. After a period of experimenting with several companies, including JWT, the Marine Corps increased its utilization of the New York-based advertising company through the 1960s.

The last poster I will consider in the *Builds Men* series is from 1965 (see figure 15) and represents a shift in strategy from the earlier posters of this series discussed above. Although the 1961 *Esprit* and the 1963 *Body, Mind, Spirit* posters reference Marine personnel "in action" or in the garb of the various roles available to male Marines, these action code elements are balanced by the dominant presence of the idealized male Marine in dress uniform. Both aspects of Marine Corps life are thus depicted – the Marine as symbol and the Marine as active participant in the masculine arena of military exercises or combat. The 1965 poster, on the other hand, can be seen as the culmination of this series. Here, the

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[147] *The Marine Corps Builds Men: Body, Mind, Spirit*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1963, Marine Corps Museum, Quantico, VA. This poster is also discussed in Chapter 3 with relation to race and Marine Corps representation.

Marines are shown as they might be imagined in the full performance of a combat manoeuvre. Three Marines in the centre are running towards an unidentified destination, one carries a pistol, the other a rifle, while the third talks into a portable radio. With the presence of other personnel indicated behind them, these three are clearly represented as leading a charge under the watchful eye of a UH-34 helicopter. The tag line "The Marine Corps Builds Men" is particularly effective here by showing exactly the kind of masculinity embodied by the members of the Marine Corps: fit, active, white, and unafraid. The removal of the ritual coded Marine in dress blues that dominated the earlier posters in the series concentrates all attention on the Marines on active duty, their focus on the task at hand strongly conveys an image of power and action whose masculine character is associated with the technological gadgetry they hold and their weaponry.

Issued during a period when public support towards the U.S.'s presence in Vietnam was wavering, this poster needed to stimulate recruiting to fill the needs of American military involvement in Vietnam. Growing reaction against the Vietnam conflict mitigated against the reissuing of the WWII inspired NAVMC Series 6000 type of poster, perhaps because their depiction of bedraggled but hardworking Guadalcanal-type Marines was too representative of the situation building in Indochina. Therefore, a different kind of action coded poster needed to be developed. The resulting posters in the *Build's Men* series are distinct in their sanitized representation of clean Marines engaged in unidentified manoeuvres, and this differentiates the action code of Vietnam era recruiting from the dirt and sweat look developed right after World War II into the 1950s. The clean, crisp elements now present in both the ritual and the action code posters also increased the profile of military gear and weapons. The posters of this stage of the *Builds Men* series are not as

romantic as the posters developed after the Second World War that profile Marine Corps achievements. Instead of conjuring up images of some John Wayne fantasy, Marines advance across a grassy knoll in the foreground of the 1965 poster. The predominant motif of this poster is the technological gadgetry, it is the weapons, the radio, the helicopter, and concentration of the Marines caught up with their tasks. The potential enlistee is invited to identify with the signs of masculinity: the plethora of modern military hardware.

By the fall of 1965, less than one year after the United States' decision to enter Vietnam, the need for more Marines competed with a growing disinterest in military service by eligible young men and the greater personnel needs of the other larger military services. This situation inhibited the Corps' ability to recruit its quota of personnel and contributed to increased dissatisfaction and unrest within the service.[148] The situation in Vietnam increasingly became unpalatable for the American public and this ambiguity exacerbated the recruitment problem. Compounding these complications was the unanticipated protraction of U.S. involvement in Vietnam that eventually ended in 1975, whereas the initial projections of the Second Indochina Conflict defined it as a two to three year short-term engagement.[149] The Marine Corps' ability to be prepared and ready for military action aligned with the need for a constant stream of Marines into Vietnam, recruiting deficiencies prompted the need to look for effective methods in their recruiting strategy. Recruiting posters for the Marine Corps project an image of the Marine as a "smart, tough, elite warrior", but with the tensions of the Vietnam situation, recruiters could not rely on this standard imagery; they could not "rally the troops" with reissues from the previous two World Wars, that had successfully

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[148] See Patricia M. Shields, *The Determinants of Service in the Armed Forces During the Vietnam Era* (Columbus, Ohio: Center for Human Resource Research, 1977), 12.

occurred in World War II.[150] The lack of a declaration of war during the Vietnam conflict recruiting period, 1965-1970, complicated the reuse of a great deal of earlier recruiting imagery. In order to counter this problem, the Marine marketing branch concentrated on the depiction of military equipment and gadgetry. Although a sanitized version of the John Wayne type of poster, these posters still retained their connection to an aggressive masculinity. This became the Vietnam version of the rally poster.

The Return to Ritual: The *Ask A Marine* Series

Although the *Builds Men* series continues until 1969, after mid-decade relatively few new posters were produced. Instead, the Marine Corps switched tactics in its recruiting posters and abandoned the action code in favour of an almost exclusive reliance on the ritual code and its reference to Marine Corps tradition. This appears to be contradictory to the typical use of both the action and ritual codes during previous periods of conflict. Why did the Corps's marketing team trust in the ritual code theme almost to the exclusion of the action code when the Vietnam era recruit is so substantially influenced by the action code Marine figure? As I will argue, it appears that there was a greater exigency on the presentation to the general public of a positive message about the Marine Corps and the nation after the Tet Offensive, particularly since the public was being bombarded with off-putting media images of the fighting in Vietnam. Rather than a focus on the sweat and toil of war, there is a shift to traditions and *esprit de corps*.

The essentially unanticipated initiatives of the siege of Khe Sanh (January 21-March 30, 1968) and the Tet Offensive (January 29-31, 1968) constituted two major North

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[149] The Vietnam War was officially called the Second Indochina Conflict.

[150] See Sgt. James Covington, "Marine Corps to launch new recruiting campaign" in *Press Release*, Marine Corps Recruiting Command Quantico, 20 February 2002.

Vietnamese Army (NVA) offensives early in 1968. Khe Sanh became an "eloquent symbol of the whole U.S. involvement in Vietnam."[151] The intent of Khe Sanh was diversionary in order to mask the build-up of North Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam. Coverage of this part of the Tet Offensive is subject to comparison to a 1954 battle at Dien Bien Phu, located in the valley below Khe Sanh, where the French eventually surrendered to the Viet Minh.[152] Although another Dien Bien Phu was considered "inconceivable," for ten days American news agencies showed images of embattled Marines before the larger offensive took priority.[153] Khe Sanh is situated in the northern part of South Vietnam close to the DMZ (demilitarized zone) and the North Vietnamese border. It was a remote outpost for a Marine rifle company until activity by the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) was sighted near Khe Sanh in spring 1967. Two battalions of Marines were sent to reinforce the outpost. Build-up continued through to the end of the year and into January 1968. Thirteen years after Dien Bien Phu and ten days before Tet, the PAVN laid siege to the United States Marines at Khe Sanh. On 21 January 1968, the base's largest ammunition dump was hit as well as the runway, a number of helicopters, and hilltop outposts surrounding the base. Although not entirely unforeseen (there were reports circulating that the impending 1968 U.S. Presidential election would prompt some sort of pressure from the Viet Cong) the Tet

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[151] *Newsweek*, 18 March 1968, 26.

[152] Viet Minh: Vietnamese Allied Independence League was the resistance front against the colonial French in 1941; it was a predecessor to the Viet Cong. The day after the surrender the Geneva conference on Indochina opened. It led to the signing of three ceasefire agreements and by September the establishment of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). On 1 January 1955 the United States began direct aid to Ngo Dinh Diem's government in South Vietnam. 21 July 1954: the Geneva conference ends with the signing of three ceasefire agreements and issuance of one unsigned final declaration; 8 September 1954: United States, France, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan sign the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, which establishes the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and extends protection to Cambodia, Laos, and "the free territory of the state of Vietnam." See William S. Turley, "Chronology", *The Second Indochina War. A Short Political and Military History, 1954-1975* (Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 1986).

Offensive did negatively impact the appearance of American organization in Vietnam.[154] As previously mentioned, the American Embassy in Saigon became a symbol, this also took place, for example, at Hue, the ancient imperial capital. Where, according to Allan R. Millett, "the Communists initiated I Corp's most difficult struggle" and it took the Marines and the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) a month to recapture the city; it was a battle described as a "wearing, horrible school of street-fighting."[155] The casualties, prisoners, and affected civilians accumulated. There were as many as forty thousand dead North-Vietnamese and thirty-four hundred dead Americans. The Americans took three thousand prisoners and with an extra five thousand NVA and Vietcong wounded and out of action, Schulzinger notes that the communist side "lost about one fifth of its total forces" and its fighting ability was "reduced by a third."[156] The Tet Offensive produced over one million civilian refugees. It also "provoked a political crisis in the United States that changed the Vietnam War."[157] On 27 February 1968, Walter Cronkite called Vietnam a stalemate.

> We have been too often disappointed by the optimism of the American leaders, both in Vietnam and Washington, to have faith any longer in the silver linings they find in the darkest clouds....For it seems now more certain than ever that the bloody experience of Vietnam is to end in a stalemate. To say that we are mired in stalemate seemed the only realistic, yet un-satisfactory, conclusion.[158]

American resolve, if it had ever existed, deteriorated over the Vietnam issue. Beyond the depiction of actual events at Khe Sanh and the larger Tet Offensive, it became clear that the

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[153] *Newsweek*, 1 January 1968, 18.

[154] Schulzinger, 260.

[155] Millett, 593

[156] Schulzinger, 260.

[157] Millett, 594.

[158] Larry Berman, *Lyndon Johnson's War* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1989), 175.

patience of the American people was stretched and their message was that the war cannot be won, it is time to come home.

With the intensification of the siege in Khe Sanh and the continued fighting during the Tet Offensive, images of embattlement and injury conflated. Former journalist Peter Braestrup, in *Big Story*, states that the assessments of the status of the war after the Tet Offensive "ran head-on into a credibility gap which doomed them to unsympathetic interpretation by the media."[159] Official government announcements, media images and reports, and the arguments of the anti-war movement, offered often-conflicting information and views. There are many arguments about what finally turned the American public away from military involvement in Vietnam. Peter Braestrup blames the negative portrayal of the Tet Offensive by the international media and Robert Schulzinger argues that the shift in public opinion away from U.S. involvement in Vietnam occurred in the "context of dashed hopes for victory," perhaps the American public was just tired of war.[160] Whatever the final straw, it is true that the media coverage portrayed the U.S. as a country in trouble and the enemy as "looming larger than life."[161] Confidence dissipated and was replaced by a seemingly weakened U.S. position. The recent optimism of withdrawal in two years was quickly replaced by a pessimism associated with loss. Fatal deficiencies were detected in American policy relating to Indochina and the nation appeared weakened. Symbolically, the ideal masculinity of the military was also embattled and wounded; it appeared not to have lived up to the perceived expectations placed on it by the nation and its citizens. The coverage of Tet conflated the dissatisfaction into hopelessness for the U.S. position. The

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[159] Peter Braestrup, *Big Story*, abridged ed. (New Haven, CT.: Yale, 1983), 142.

[160] See Berman, 139-75; Braestrup, 119-42; and Schulzinger, 244.

American public was disenchanted and demoralized, its confidence in the war challenged, and the role of the American political and military systems seemed in question. The impact of the offensive was felt by the American administration. President Johnson announced his retirement 31 March 1968, naming the loss of support from Middle America over the Vietnam issue as one of his reasons.[162] President Nixon focused on withdrawal with "dignity" and continued the policy for troop withdrawals that was initiated by Johnson. For the Marines, withdrawal began in June 1969.

To lessen this loss of face, a consequence of the association made in the media of the Marines with representations of a weakened masculinity and a weakened nation, the recruiting branch launched the *Ask A Marine* series. These posters reframe the representation of the Marine Corps and their form of militarized masculinity in a period of divisive conflict. Both the conflict in Vietnam and the conflict over Vietnam necessitated a change in the rhetoric of the Corps's recruiting practices. The *Ask A Marine* series was a response to the media coverage of the war and was introduced to re-establish a positive image of the Marines in the mind of America. In a general sense, recruiting posters continued to serve two purposes for the Marine Corps. They recruited young men to the service and they informed the general public about the Corps. What is unique about the representation of Marines in the Tet Offensive period of the Vietnam era is the shift from an aggressive Cold War action stance to a less confrontational focus on pride. Representations of Marines in dress blues, participating in largely ritual activities such as parades and graduation ceremonies now replaced the tough and ready Marines in the action coded

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[161] Braestrup, 176.

posters, like the NAVMC 6000 series of posters (see figures 9, 10, 16). The strong, ritual coded body found in the *Ask A Marine* series of recruiting posters attempts to displace the references to confusion, injury and hurt embodied by the media images of Marines.

Three posters have been selected from the *Ask A Marine* series to examine the use of the ritual code during the Vietnam period. *Ask A Marine: Share a Proud Tradition* (1968) shows a male and female Marine in dress blues saluting (see figure 1).[163] A color guard is in the background with both the Marine Corps and American flags, which are large and unfurled. *Ask A Marine: Pride in America* (c.1968) shows two male Marines, one white the other African-American. As members of a color guard, they are both in dress blue uniforms and are shown as though on parade in front of an appreciative crowd (see figure 16).[164] The third poster *Ask A Marine: Pride* (1969) unlike the previous two illustrated posters, uses a photographic mode of representation (see figure 17).[165] It shows a group of Marine graduates of basic training being congratulated and inspected by a Marine Corps officer. All three posters from the *Ask A Marine* series reference the element of Pride. It is notable how, in the face of shifts in public opinion over the Vietnam conflict and the U.S. position, the Marines adopt the trope of pride in their recruiting campaign. Its dominance in this series indicates the marketing branch's attempt to supplant negative connotations associated

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[162] Ibid, 166. "President Johnson's political standing was now plummeting. A Gallup poll conducted in early February showed that only 41% of the nation's adults approved of the president's handling of his job. This represented a seven point decline from the January survey…"

[163] *Ask a Marine: Share a Proud Tradition*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1968, Control #P-161, NAVMC Series 7057, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

[164] *Ask a Marine: Pride in America*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, c.1968, NAVMC Series 7075, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

[165] *Ask a Marine: Pride*, recruiting poster, photograph/paper, 1969, Control #P-160, NAVMC Series 7084, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard. In the posters that I have seen from the Marine Corps Historical Center collection, there appears to be an almost equal use of photographic and illustration techniques in the *Ask A Marine* series. There is a slight bias toward the use of illustration.

with action code through references to pride in the Corps, in the nation, and in the individual. As Susan Jeffords points out, this does not negate the stability of the masculine power, instead these posters simply alter their "base for relations to a site from which somewhat different but no less forceful relations of dominance" can be worked out.[166] It was noted that pride was one of many nouns used in a figurative sense in the *Builds Men* series. In the *Ask A Marine* series its use becomes exclusive. The poster *Share a Proud Tradition* is a reference to the rich history of the Marine Corps, *Pride in America* is a reference to the Marine Corps's status in society, and the poster *Pride* provides a privileged view into the socialization of a Marine. These three posters are typical and touch on common elements used in the cycle. All the posters of the *Ask A Marine* series trope the concept of assistance, they are an open invitation to appeal to the Marines for assistance in understanding their characterization of pride within the context of the ritual code and ideal masculinity. The catchphrase *Ask A Marine* restates the message that the Marines have the answers to the difficult questions of the period. It has a broad application since it can involve the new Marines, existing Marines, the Marine Corps as a whole, the American public, or all of the above. This slogan also offers a greater appearance of openness for the Marines, since it sanctions questions during a time when the questions put to the nation are ignored, awkward, or difficult to answer.

The prominent, tall, male Marine on the far right border in *Share a Proud Tradition*, the centrally placed Marine with the rifle in *Pride in America*, and the restrained but smiling new Marine on the far right border in *Ask A Marine: Pride* are the normative male ideal. They are narrow-waisted, square-jawed, broad shouldered, clean cut, fit, erect and young. They

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[166] Jeffords, 1989, xii.

strongly reaffirm the male military social type of the ritual code. The sternness of the expressions on the primary Marines in the first two posters are somewhat altered by the Marine in the third poster. This new Marine attempts to control his emotions and maintain his composure during the warm exchange with the reviewing officer. His effort, despite the overwhelming excitement he must feel during his graduation and the permission that the reviewing officer is giving him to relax, increases the representation of control and discipline found in the other two posters. In this instance the new Marine is forgiven his transgression because of the circumstances; this representation of the military form of ideal masculinity makes it clear that he has what it takes, he knows where the line is, and indicates the seriousness with which he takes his job and his vocation as a Marine. Marines in all three posters gaze outside the picture plane of the poster and outside their represented immediate surroundings. Their attention is focused straight ahead, which is typical during a salute, or their look is up, perhaps to salute or view an American flag. By gazing upwards and outwards there is an implied connection with greater ideals and thoughts of the nation and its protection.[167] There is no direct recognition or acknowledgement of an audience through eye contact, yet the viewer is invited to participate as part of the crowd watching the parade and the ceremony and to identify with these young men.

Its ability to procure personnel is rooted in the Corps' cultivation of positive societal attitudes attributable to the Marine such as discipline, readiness, courage, determination, capability, and tenaciousness in battle, as well as Corps representations of professionalism, prestige, pride, patriotism, and traditionalism. The recruiting posters from this series target the general population to convey a mindset that the Marines have developed to offset the

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[167] Caughie, 262.

negative images that bombard the public in the newspapers, magazines, radio, and television. We see this in the restrained but friendly camaraderie in the poster *Ask a Marine: Pride*, represented by the congenial expression on the superior officer, the strong handshake and the proud expression on the newly graduated Marine warrant officer. The immediacy and legitimacy to the emotions being exchanged is transmitted outward from the poster to embrace the audience and the nation. Pride in these new Marines is transferred from a private ceremony to a collective experience. All the men represented in the poster convey the impression that they enjoy being Marines and are proud of being Marines. This poster is constructed to invite the potential recruit and the nation to join or support the systems of power that enable this organization to function. In direct contrast to the images of the Marine Corps in Vietnam that dominated the media during this period, *Ask A Marine: Pride* seeks to affirm the nation's belief in its military by showing prime examples of young American men enthusiastically entering the Corps. The handshake in the foreground of the poster links the older generation of Marine to the newly graduated officer, implying the power of the institution and its tradition even in times of trouble.

Unlike the other two posters I discuss from this series, *Pride* uses photography to communicate its message. In this poster the apparent casualness of the photography implies the capturing of a spontaneous moment in time versus what we know is well constructed advertising copy. The public is treated like a member of the Marine's immediate family, invited to participate in special moments in the socialization of every Marine such as graduation or their participation in the color guard parade. The out-of-focus background mimics a regular snapshot photograph and barely indicates a Marine, in greens, holding a

standard with the Marine Corps flag in the background. There are shapes present in the extreme background but they cannot be recognized. A formation of new Marines is diagonally placed in perspective across the picture plane. As the line comes forward into the foreground the resolution improves so that the Marine in the right foreground is in complete focus. The new Marines are in dress blue uniforms. In *Mourning Glory: The Making of a Marine,* David Regan clearly links the connection in many recruits' mind-set between training camp and Marine identity: boot camp is "what it takes to be a man and that is what it takes to be able to wear the proudest uniform in the world."[168] One of the rewards of successfully completing the work and toil of Marine basic training is the right to wear the dress blue uniform, a potent goal that is often represented as the dream of many recruits.

The quiet dignity of the Marines in *Share a Proud Tradition* and *Pride in America* not only attempted to soften the blow of negative media coverage, it also attempted to direct the public's attention to how the Marines maintain their fidelity to the nation. There was support in American society for Corps-perceived "standards of order, its zeal for discipline, its reputation of valor and daring," however, the extreme divisiveness and reaction to the military was evidence that there was also opposition."[169] Marine Corps values were intended to be models for all people in American society, including the dissenters, the disenchanted, and those already in agreement with their doctrines. These striking representations embodied, what John Berger calls, a "promise of power."[170] This power is implied by the presence of a large and credible image of masculinity. This body combined with the

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[168] David J. Regan, *Mourning Glory. The Making of a Marine* (Old Greenwich, Conn.: Devin-Adair Co., 1981), 63.
[169] Michael Norman, *These Good Men: Friendships Forged From War* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1989), 193.
[170] Berger, 45-6.

conspicuous dress blue uniform communicate a potent and powerful symbol of enduring stability and strength.

In the recruiting posters, the Marine body and uniform were leitmotifs representing the Corps' dignity and prestige. The uniform is an attraction. Dress-blues are used in poster imagery because of statements such as the following: "As I walked out of the lobby after the movie I imagined myself in the Marine dress uniform."[171] The spectacle and glamour of the dress blue uniform is a key part of the ritual code. The uniform lends itself to being an icon in these posters. It is a container of social, political and historical residue, a symbol of Marine culture and lifestyle. Lindsay states:

> ...this feeling that appears once a man (or boy) has put on the uniform of the U.S. Marine Corps, has been furthered by the very distinctiveness of Marine Corps insignia, uniforms, and less tangible badges of the service, not only is there the Corps' distinguishing device - the globe, eagle, and anchor - but also the distinctive high stock collar for the dress uniform.[172]

The uniform is an icon of achievement that defines as well as disguises the cultural skeleton of the United States Marine. The glamour of the ritualized uniform served to displace the reality of the Marine function, unlike the wounded media body, which was stripped of its uniform and laid bare, its power dissipated and weak. Such consequences as injury or death were disconnected in the *Ask A Marine* posters by the ritual code. The potent symbol of the Marine in dress blue uniform, which Lawliss called a "symbol of America throughout the world,"[173] codified a particular construct of maleness, while at the same time creating a powerful and enduring appeal to young American males to join this elite brotherhood of men. Those who had adopted the Marine Corps's core values of honor, courage, and

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[171] Jerry Hulse, "Uniform Blues" in *Los Angeles Times.* 2 July 1954.

[172] Lindsay, 86.

commitment were represented as strong and proud. Their status defined them as defenders and warriors, built to conquer.

The illustrated color guard and saluting Marines in the poster *Ask A Marine: Share a Proud Tradition* (1968) recall Marine Corps history and its tradition of serving the nation over time (see figure 1). While the predominant color scheme of red, white, and blue reference the American flag, the presence of the catchphrase "Share a Proud Tradition," the Marine Corps emblem, the color guard, and the abundance of dress blue uniforms visually convey the Corps's commitment to their tradition of serving and defending the United States flag thereby remaining faithful to the nation. The color guard consists of four male Marines in a row – from left to right they stand erect facing forward, the first Marine has a rifle on his right shoulder, the next carries the American flag, the Marine beside him carries the Marine Corps ensign, and the final figure has a rifle on his left shoulder. The placement of two saluting Marines at the pinnacle of a formal pyramidal element in the poster design, one a white, blond female and the other a white, dark-haired male, reinforces the stabilizing intent of the poster.[174]

As images of death and destruction emanated from virtually all media outlets, that the Corps returned to images of tradition with no reference to U.S. involvement in Vietnam is surprising. In *Ask A Marine: Share a Proud Tradition*, the focus is entirely on the signifiers of the Marine Corps as an institution, rather than as a fighting force. In addition to the six figures, the poster displays a Marine Corps flag and an American flag which links together the members of the colour guard at the left of the poster to the larger male and female

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[173] Chuck Lawliss, *The Marine Book: A Portrait of America's Military Elite* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 20.

[174] The presence of women in recruiting posters is discussed in Chapter 3.

Marines at the right. The representation of these two figures saluting is important. In addition to the reference to the pose of military personnel at attention, the figures' arms visually connect them to each other as well as create a link between the text box "Share a Proud Tradition" and the slogan at the bottom of the poster "Ask A Marine." If the question on the viewer's lips is "whose proud tradition?" the direct answer according to this poster is "the Marines" – a tradition which here is being emphasized by the representation of the Marines in dress blues rather than the combat uniform.

The reliance on the tropes of tradition and pride is further underlined in the 1968 poster *Ask A Marine: Pride in America* (c.1968). Here, the color guard is partially shown, two of its members striding purposefully with rifle and standard before an admiring crowd. The emphasis in this poster is once again on the tradition of the Marine Corps, on its historic role in the preservation of the American nation, rather than its current activities in Vietnam. The tag line "Pride in America" directly links the Marines to the nation. The crowd in this instance *is* the nation, and it is represented as not only patriotic (see the figure at the far left with his hat over his heart) but also shows its pride in the Marine Corps, as seen in the boy saluting at the bottom left of the poster. In this poster, the criticisms against American involvement in Vietnam are directly countered by a representation of Americans demonstrating pride in the nation and in the Marine Corps. As a recruiting tool, this poster communicates the potential recruit's membership in an institution with a long-standing history in the protection of American values and interests. As a representation of the Marines at a time when their image was under constant criticism, it is an erasure of the real activities of the Marine Corps in Vietnam, and a return to the protective shelter of the ritual code.

All three posters from the 1968-1969 *Ask A Marine* series continue to convey the normative ideal masculinity of the military to both recruits and to the public. Not only does this naturalize the representation of militarized masculinity, these forms of the ritual code separate the audience and the Marines from the war. Ritual code situates the Marine Corps with events from the history of the nation and the Marine Corps, this positions them outside the current activities of Vietnam. The Vietnam conflict destabilized taken-for-granted beliefs about the American nation. In order to retain their agency and power, the Marine Corps needed to reinforce ideas about the stability of the nation and their role in that process. They maintained their reliance on the white male Marine even while, or perhaps because the multiple images of chaos, including embattled and wounded Marines during and after the Tet Offensive, continued to represent the war as dishonourable. Thoughts of pride in the nation conflicted with daily television and print media images of war, destruction, and death. The power of that influence was enough to alter, for a short period, the conventional use of both ritual and action coded messages in Marine recruiting posters. The *Ask A Marine* posters maintained their normative function throughout this period of tension between the ideal and the embattled by retaining the militarized masculine signifier and shifting their emphasis toward concepts of pride and commitment found more readily within the ritual code.

Of all of the posters produced for the Vietnam conflict, I contend that it is the *Ask a Marine* series that evolves the Marine Corps as symbol. This series relies on the ritual code and the signification of the dress blue uniform, whether in photographic or painted form. It reiterates Marine Corps tradition and symbols, in combination with an appearance of openness, to offset the pressures in wartime America during an unpopular war. The more

open rhetoric in the posters suggests a different kind of association of masculinity with nationhood. The normative function of the less confrontational but still potent masculinism of the dress blue uniform serves to stabilize recruiting practice. By not confronting the direct issues of the war, the Marine Corps negotiates a position from which they can uphold their message and continue to address the public. Within the posters they quietly maintain the Marine Corps as a symbol of the nation. The *Ask a Marine* series continues the process to consolidate the Marine symbol that allows for the differentiation of the Marine Corps from the other American military services and helps the organization weather a difficult period in its history. Until this time recruiting posters offer versions of militarized masculinity that are in accord with standards set by World War II and the Cold War for both military society and society in general. The Vietnam Conflict and the divergence and disruption in the dominant ideas of society occasioned by the war and the surrounding activities in the United States opened the debate about those standards and these posters reflected that debate. Marine Corps involvement in Vietnam exacted a large toll. In 1969, Millett states, Headquarters USMC "acknowledged that the national television and newspaper networks had turned against the Corps" because of the Vietnam conflict and it "seemed doubtful that the Corps still enjoyed any special rapport with the public."[175]

The Marines Are Looking for a Few Good Men

The Marines withdrew from active duty in Vietnam starting in June 1969 although they remained as Embassy Guards in Saigon until 1975. Soon after their withdrawal, the Marine Corps adopted the recruiting campaign *A Few Good Men* (1970 until the present). The slogan for the c.1970 poster, *The Marines are Looking for a Few Good Men,* implies that

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[175] Millett, 596.

there was a high level of competency and stamina needed to join the Marine Corps (see figure 18).[176] The column of Marines represented in the poster, which fades into the distance, suggests that there are many Marines who accept this tenet of the militarized nation. Whether or not the posters depict a column of marching Marines, an in-your-face Drill Instructor, or a squared away Gunnery Sergeant, these are familiar action themes from Marine Corps recruiting history.[177] The Marines in the *Few Good Men* series are constructed as elite, strong, and active. The remaining portion of the catchphrase directly presents the Marine Corps' fighting function. Gone is the ritual code of implied militarism, instead the Marines attempt to reassert the validity of their status through a direct proclamation of why they exist. This period for the Marine Corps include the beginning of the All-Volunteer Force (1973) so conscription no longer assures that young men will be entering the Corps. According to Millett, the efforts to "keep the ranks filled while the Marine Corps created an adequate recruiting program for a real all-volunteer force produced a worse personnel disaster than the racial and antiwar turbulence of the Vietnam War."[178] He cites rates of imprisonment, unauthorized absences, and courts-martial as indicators of the poor quality of both the recruits and Marine Corps recruiting policy. Yet, by 1975, at least according to a Congressional report, the Marines had begun the turn around. This report, addressing the effectiveness of military recruiting for the 1973-1975 period, stated that "Marine Corps ads were more concerned with the Corps' image rather than job and training opportunities."[179]

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[176] *The Marines are Looking for a Few Good Men: Nobody likes to fight. But somebody has to know how*, recruiting poster, photograph/paper, c.1970, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

[177] Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard staff member to author (30 November 1992).

[178] Millett, 612.

[179] Comptroller Generals' Report to Congress on *Advertising for Military Recruiting: How Effective Is It?* for the 1973-1975 period, 1976, 15.

The Corps had returned to its familiar balance of action and ritual tactics, but with greater clarity and sense of identity developed through the challenges and contested nature of the Vietnam era.

In the 1970 poster *The Marines are Looking for a Few Good Men*, this return to more aggressive masculinity is suggested by way of a reversal on the focus found in the *Ask a Marine* poster series discussed above. This poster celebrates the Marine Corps as a fighting force, rather than an institution. The confrontational catchphrase in the large text box that dominates the poster openly admits that the Marines exist in order to fight. If the viewer is questioning, "why fight?" then the Marines, in this poster, first legitimize that question with a statement that admits to a commonly held belief that "nobody likes to fight," then they answer by once again accepting the duties and responsibilities invested on them by the nation to be prepared. While admitting to the core function of the Marines, the use of the clean-cut Marine body in its recruiting strategy sanitizes the situation and emphasizes the disciplined nature of the Marine Corps style of military violence. According to George Mosse,

> Even for those who did not take the warrior ideal to its extremes, soldierly comportment mattered - meaning clean-cut appearance, hardness, self-discipline, and courage. A sober, unexcitable bearing characterized the ideal type...[180]

These Marines are not smiling, unlike the men represented in the *Builds Men* series. Rather they maintain a continuum with the serious nature of the *Ask A Marine* posters. Additionally, instead of masking the reality of inherent violence in Marine Corps life, this poster conveys the message that the Marines accept the significance of the circumstances of combat and aggression. Besides suggesting that there are endless numbers of willing men

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[180] Mosse, 1990, 185.

who already serve in the Corps, the disciplined, marching column of Marines at the bottom of the poster visually links with the tag line *The Marines Are Looking For A Few Good Men*, which suggests that the Marines are discriminating and discerning. This dichotomy attracts the viewer by first inviting the recruit to join a well-disciplined group and secondly by enhancing the recruits' self-esteem since the Marines represent themselves as an elite few. The boldness of this post-Vietnam poster reflects the confidence of the Marines in their position within the systems of power. Recruiting posters return to offering versions of militarized masculinity that are in accord with standards set by World War II and the Cold War for both military society and society in general.

In *The Matter of Images*, Richard Dyer makes a compelling argument for the active work of images in the identification of specific groups within the social:

> How a group is represented, presented over again in cultural forms, how an image of a member of a group is taken as representative of that group, how that group is represented in the sense of spoken for and on behalf of (whether they represent, speak for themselves or not), these all have to do with how members of groups see themselves and others like themselves, how they see their place in society, their right to the rights a society claims to ensure its citizens.[181]

All of this describes how the Marine Corps views itself in American society. To be effective, representations must be credible and appealing. Recruiting posters, as tools in the service of the nation, normally are considered positive elements. They represent, support, and negotiate within and for society (despite specific societal complications and messiness). In this Chapter, I connected ideal masculinity with its militarized form and discussed how embattled and wounded masculinities influenced the normalized versions of militarized masculinity and nationalism. Within the context of the Tet Offensive, I analyzed these masculinities in Marine Corps recruiting posters and in the representations of Marines in the

mass media. I argued that in response to the period's pressures, the Marine Corps developed the *Ask a Marine* series of posters that relied on ritual and tradition to enhance their standing as defenders of the flag and the nation. These posters continue the Cold War based intention of American policies and trope the concepts of pride and assistance to reframe the issues of commitment and the placement of the United States in global economics and politics taken on after World War II. In Chapter 3, I will consider how difference influences the gendered and raced nature of national identity. Recruiting practice not only needed to deal with issues that emerged in relation to the Vietnam conflict, it also needed to address questions of difference. The presence of women and African-American males in the Marine Corps required alterations in the standard action and ritual codes. In particular I will consider how these variants were influenced by the presence of the white, male Marine.

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[181] Dyer, 1993, 1.

Chapter 3

Difference: Toward Understanding An Inclusionary Institution

During the Vietnam period the Marine Corps needed to demonstrate that it seriously respected the contributions of such "others" as women and African-Americans. The Corps' marketing branch developed a number of posters depicting women Marines and African-American Marines, usually in concert with representations of the white, male Marine. While there are posters that depict only women Marines, where the presence of masculine activity is implied, the images of (male) African-American Marines almost always appear alongside those of white Marines. Within the Marine Corps Historical Center collection, I found no posters depicting African-American women despite their presence in the Marine Corps. The analysis of these posters, which span the period from World War I through to the Vietnam era, examines the Marine Corps's techniques to maintain and legitimize the standards of masculinity in the posters by the management of the action and ritual codes and the inclusion of the white, ideal Marine. Changes in American society during the Vietnam conflict required the Marine Corps to accommodate women and African-Americans within the ranks while maintaining recruitment levels during an unpopular war. Women and African-Americans were traditionally marginalized in recruiting poster production because of the Marine Corps's emphasis on the white, male Marine and its presupposition of a consonance between the white, male body and the nation. The repetitive depiction of the hegemonic body reinforced its representational power through "accumulations of meaning" across the spectrum of society.[182] When changing American social values required the inclusion of "others" in their recruiting practice, the Marines accommodated: they used stereotypes of women and African-Americans to further solidify their normative status in

society, they employed visual strategies of inclusion to show their responsiveness to the social concerns of the nation, and they exploited their presence to counter the representations of embattled and wounded Marines in Vietnam. This chapter examines ideas about gender and race to problematize the image of the ideal as the "natural, inevitable, ordinary way of being human."[183]

Gender Difference

The military as a whole is viewed as a masculine institution, but the Marine Corps is particularly gender-centric; it "actively promotes its image as a proving ground for masculinity."[184] As George Mosse states:

> The obvious fact that soldiers were men was emphasized in order to project a moral posture exemplifying courage, strength, hardness, control over the passions, and the ability to protect the moral fabric of society by living a so-called manly life."[185]

This bias to masculinity is reflected in the Marine Corps's composition: in 2003, 93.9% of all Marines were men, 6.1% were women.[186] The Marine Corps has the lowest percentage of women of all the American services and this number has changed very little over the last thirty years. During the Vietnam era, a 2% cap on female enlistments was in effect. Despite the elimination of this ceiling in 1973, the percentage of women in the Marine Corps only increased to 4.4% by 1989, a 1.7% increase over fourteen years. The more recent numbers

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[182] Pollock, 1990, 210.

[183] Dyer, 1993, 141.

[184] Williams, 1.

[185] Mosse, 1990, 27.

[186] See *Time*, 29 December 2003, 54. United States Air Force has the highest percentage of women at 19.2%. The number of women in the Army and Navy are, respectively, 15.5% and 14.1%. Women Marines are most likely to be married to another service member; this is the highest percentage in the services.

reveal only a 4.1% increase in the number of women Marines over a thirty-year period.[187] With those statistics, it is fair to ask if the presence of women within their ranks have an effect on the Marines. There are two possible responses. On the one hand, if the job of the Marine Corps is "men's work", then women naturally would not be inclined to enlist, their interest in military service would be marginal, and their numbers would remain unimportant. In this respect, it is argued that women are not drawn to join the ranks in any great numbers since they are not generally masculine, tough, or war-like enough to do the duties that are requested of the Marines. There would be no proclivity to actively recruit greater numbers of women due to the perception of their general disinterest and low representation in the Corps. On the other hand, the Marines are not as concerned about the recruitment of women as they are in the representation of their organization as one that includes women. As a token gesture, they allow for the steady, but slow, enlistment of women into the Marines. Once signed up, the role of these women appears to be one of support. We have to be curious about how the Marine Corps has historically dealt with differences between masculinity and femininity in order to understand the politics of gender and its role in the construction of identity for the Marine Corps during the Vietnam era.

The Women's Armed Services Integration Act (Public Law 625) of 12 June 1948, established women's permanent status in the American military, both as regulars and reserve members. Prior to this edict, women served in reserve units formed during times of conflict that were demobilized once each war ended, such as in World War I and II.[188] Women in

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[187] Williams, 2. Furthermore, for all the services the largest age group is the 20 to 24 year olds and the Marines have the largest number of 17 to 19 year olds. Combine these two categories for the Marines and their numbers far exceed the other services, which make the Marines primarily composed of young males.

[188] The Marine Corps Reserve accepted women on 12 August 1918; it was disbanded on 30 July 1919. The Marine Corps Women's Reserve was established February 1943.

these reserve units were asked to serve their country so that their presence would free up a combat-capable man to fight. They primarily served in traditional administration, medical, and communications positions, although they also worked in non-traditional jobs such as ground aviation crews.[189] In the Marine Corps this was particularly apparent during World War II but had taken place since World War I. The first Woman Marine was Opha Mae Johnson. She was the first of 305 women to be accepted for duty in the Marine Corps Reserve on 12 August 1918. Most of the women filled clerical billets at Marine Corps Headquarters or recruiting stations. In World War II there was a total of 23,145 officers and enlisted women reservists in the Corps. Women Reserves were mobilized for the Korean War, and the number of active duty women Marines peaked at 2,787. At the height of the Vietnam War there were approximately 2,700 women Marines on active duty both in Vietnam and in the United States. The options that were available to women did not alter significantly over time. In the 1960s the Marine Corps developed career-type formal training programs for women officers and advanced technical training to enlisted women. By 1975, the Marine Corps was assigning women to all occupational fields except infantry, artillery, armor, and pilot/air crew.[190]

Four posters have been selected from those that contain representations of women Marines in order to contest the Marine Corps's self-representation as an inclusive organization. They offer a survey examination of the women Marine recruiting posters from

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[189] Col. (Ret.) Bettie J. Morden, "Women in the Armed Forces", *Reference Guide to United States Military History 1945 to the Present*, ed. Charles R. Shrader (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1995), 312-3. Also USMC, History and Museums Division, Reference Section file: "Women in the Marine Corps."

[190] See "Women in the Marine Corps", Reference Section, History and Museum Division, USMC: "Today, women account for 4.3 percent of all Marine officers and women make up 5.1 percent of the active duty enlisted force in the Marine Corps. Ninety-three percent of all occupational fields and 62 percent of all positions are now open to women."

both World Wars and the Vietnam era. The portrayal of women found in these recruiting posters reflected the conditions common for them in the Marine Corps throughout the early twentieth century into the early 1970s. There are references to their work in the reserves, the sharing of Marine values by men and women alike, and the push to recruit and train officers and enlisted personnel. Images of women in recruiting posters prior to 1948 follow the general theme or slogan *Free a Marine to Fight* (see figures 19, 20).[191] The two posters from 1968 and after 1973 appeared to signify Women Marines' professional placement in the Corps (see figures 1, 21).[192] This analysis will discuss how these images related to their respective periods of conflict and address questions about how women negotiated their position with concurrent representations of masculinity. I contend that the representations of women Marines as part of the Marine Corps family continued to connote a positive view of the Marine Corps. In particular, during the Vietnam period, this allowed the further distancing of the Marine Corps from representations of that conflict, while maintaining women's traditional support roles, thereby maintaining the masculinist nature of the Marine Corps. Women were used to divert attention away from the war as well as reinforce the perception that they supported the Marine Corps's policies and actions during a contentious time.

Howard Chandler Christy's *Join The Marines: If you Want to Fight!* recruiting poster from 1918 was designed as part of the preparedness campaign prior to the United States'

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[191] Howard Chandler Christy, *Join The Marines: If You Want To Fight!*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1918, oil/canvas, 1915, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard; Alexander Raymond, *U.S. Marine Corps Women's Reserve: So Proudly We Serve*, photolithograph/paper, 1943-4, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

[192] *Ask a Marine: Share a Proud Tradition*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1968, Control #P-161, NAVMC Series 7057, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard; *Be an Officer of Marines: One of the*

entry into World War I (see figure 19). Christy's poster was the only Marine Corps poster to use a female figure to encourage male enlistments.[193] The painted image covers the entire poster. The slogan appears as if it was hand lettered and is superimposed over the painted image. In the background a large group of men in Marine Corps field uniforms are poised to go "over the top" of a World War I trench. The Marine Corps ensign and American flag are visible above the group of Marines. In the foreground is a woman in Marine dress blues. She has yellow sergeant stripes and wears a cartridge belt, suspenders and a bayonet. Indicators of the action code surround her. Since women Marines were not allowed near combat, the representation of a female figure dressed in a male Marine's uniform is problematic. A present-day viewer might argue that this Woman Marine is indeed poised to join the battle. However, a contemporary viewer would understand that this woman signified her support for American involvement in World War I by wearing the Marine Corps uniform, specifically the dress blues reserved for special occasions. Her visual proximity to the group of Marines dressed for battle, and the reiteration of the ritual code signified by the dress-blue uniform creates a connection between the activities of Marines in war and the historical status and tradition associated with the Corps. The scale of the Woman Marine in the poster and the difference in uniform, however, separate her from the action and reinforce her supporting role in the organization – a role that nevertheless freed male Marines to fight. The Marine Corps' utilization of the female figure during World War I was to "catch the eye," to imbue the poster with "traditional feminine attributes of grace, beauty,

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few. One of the finest., recruiting poster, photograph/paper, after 1973, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

[193] It is the only World War I Marine Corps poster created by Christy. Mrs. Nancy May Palmer, Christy's "honey girl", posed for the 1915 painting. Howard Christy and Mrs. Palmer married in 1919. This poster was

appealing defencelessness, and moral virtue," as well as to "sell goods and causes."[194] The woman is wearing a male uniform and holding the equipment of war. In other words, her "masculinization" represents her support and acceptance of the role of the military and its concept of masculinity. Her supporting role is an important aspect of militarization since "militarization relies on distinct notions about masculinity, notions that have staying power only if they are legitimized by women as well as men."[195]

During the Second World War, recruiting posters for women continued to surround the representations of women with the accoutrements of war. In Alexander Raymond's poster, *U.S. Marine Corps Women's Reserve: So Proudly We Serve*, the painted image features a Woman Marine in her field uniform (see figure 20).[196] She is a classic beauty of that period: her hair is red and stylishly arranged, she appears to be wearing some makeup, in particular bright red lipstick. Her features are reminiscent of Rita Hayworth, a popular WWII pinup girl. In the background of the poster is the nose of a military airplane, probably a Grumman Hellcat, the aircraft of choice in the Pacific War. Another Hellcat is flying in the upper right hand quadrant of the poster. The Woman Marine, encircled by images of airplanes, is positioned as if she were a male Marine. In the classic ritual code pose, she stands upright and looks up and out of the picture plane. A patriotic red, white, and blue ribbon and a band of white stars underline the catchphrase *So Proudly We Serve*. The trope of pride is the underlying concept of this poster, and like the Christy girl poster of WWI, offers a figurative

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reproduced, along with 11 other historical posters, on a 1974 recruiting poster called *The Marine Corps 1775-1974 We Are Looking For A Few Good Men.*

[194] Crawford, 8-9.

[195] Enloe, 1993, 3.

[196] Alexander Raymond, the creator of the comic strips Flash Gordon and Rip Kirby, was a Marine Officer during WWII.

representation of that sense of pride as originating from the women in the posters.[197] This imagery signified pride in participation even though women did not have permanent status in the American military during World War II and they did not participate in official combat roles.

The sexuality of the Woman Marine in the *So Proudly We Serve* poster cannot be ignored. The phallic nature of the plane's propeller jutting across the figure's left shoulder and the sexualization of the Woman Marine bears some consideration. The obvious function of this poster is to recruit women to the Marine Corps Women's Reserve, to serve the nation during a time of war. The secondary function of a poster such as this one was to communicate to the larger public that women's participation in the Marine Corps would not place their femininity in jeopardy. The attractive appearance of the Woman Marine is key to asserting that although war was men's work – aggressively signified by the phallic propeller over the woman's shoulder – in this role she herself would not disrupt traditional gender definitions. The traditional support roles typical of women's work life in and out of the services are maintained by their proximity to the men or the materiel of war. Both posters reinforce the strength of the action code, thereby reinforcing the implied masculinity of their contexts, namely the action of war.

Unlike the previous two posters, the 1968 *Ask A Marine: Share a Proud Tradition* (see figure 1) recruiting poster makes no reference to the action code, yet it was produced during one of the heaviest years of fighting in the Vietnam conflict. As noted in Chapter 2, it is a typical example of the *Ask A Marine* series, which precluded representations of the action code and served to distance the Marine Corps from the widely distributed images of

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[197] The models in Howard Chandler Christy's posters and commercial work were often called "Christy Girls."

apparent defeat and despair surrounding the Tet Offensive. It is also characteristic of the posters produced to recruit women in the 1960s. Images of women Marines were juxtaposed with references to Marine Corps tradition and history, i.e. the Iwo Jima monument, the dress blue uniform, or the Marine Corps color guard. In the *Share a Proud Tradition* poster the Woman Marine is positioned near the central area of the poster but is superseded by the larger male Marine figure in the foreground. Both of these figures are in dress blue uniform, although the male Marine has a higher military rank. Both are saluting. On the far left side is a Marine Corps color guard. With the inclusion of signifiers such as the American and Marine Corps flags, a Marine Corps color guard, dress blue uniforms, and a slogan referencing Marine Corps history and *esprit de corps*, the intended inference was that all Marines are proud, including women Marines.

The positioning of images of the white female Marine, an under-represented group in the Marine Corps, with the familiar representations of white, male Marines, such as found in the *Share a Proud Tradition* poster, aligned women with the over all program of the Marines. By their presence, these women legitimized American military action. They have transformed themselves to share in the pride of the tradition of the Marine Corps and the tradition of the nation. The process of militarization of women influenced and complemented the contested arena of nationalism and associated ideas about manliness. In *The Morning After*, Cynthia Enloe notes "changes in ideas about masculinity do not occur without complementary transformations in ideas about what it means to be a woman."[198] The support for the Marines, apparent in the recruiting posters for women, reinforced the ideal masculinity that informed the Marines and established the Marines in the mind of

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[198] Enloe, 1993, 247.

America. The presence of women in the recruiting posters also allowed for the appearance of progress for the Marine Corps. The Marine Corps was presented as an organization that was willing to change with the times and include women within a traditional male bastion. The poster's ritualized agenda removed the references to Vietnam and nationwide dissent, as discussed in Chapter 2. Like the previous two posters from 1918 and 1943-4, the Woman Marine was a central component of the poster, once again surrounded by the accoutrements of militarism. This white female Marine was different from her predecessors, she had a quiet presence, and she was not as forceful and conspicuous. Instead, her quiet dignity matched that of her fellow male Marines. She was a member of a highly esteemed organization, her status in society was enhanced since the group was sanctioned by the American people. This poster troped the women Marines' pride in this accomplishment and re-presented her as an example of progress on women's issues in the Marines and American society. The idealized message is that everyone was welcome in the Marine Corps and that women were finally welcome in all walks of life. It signifies that the Marine Corps was an open and approachable organization that should be trusted and supported.

As with the earlier World War I and II posters and with similar Woman Marine and Woman Marine officer recruiting posters from the 1960s, the woman in this poster did not necessarily signify that women had gone beyond their traditional support role. Instead, the women maintained supportive roles within the posters, showing their open support and association with past achievements of the Marine Corps. What was missing was any indication of their active involvement with the various skills women Marines would have utilized daily. As stated before, programs were instituted promoting formal officer training

and technical training for women in the 1960s. The roles for women were expanding to include technical trades and communications positions, although they continued to fill the traditional administrative and medical assignments. These new roles were not depicted in the recruiting posters. The action code, referencing women, did not exist.

Once into the 1970s, and after the Marines had withdrawn from Vietnam, recruiting imagery for women shifted to include small references to the technical skills offered by joining the Marine Corps. Characteristic of this trend is the *Be an Officer of Marines: One of the few. One of the finest* poster from 1973 (see figure 21). It is a photographic image centralized on a wide, white background.[199] On the bottom border of the poster is a Marine Corps emblem outlined in black. The young Woman Marine in the photograph is dressed in 'greens', the everyday working uniform of the Marine Corps. Her 1970s hairstyle is shoulder length and easy to maintain. Unlike the Rita Hayworth image of World War II, she has no apparent makeup and exudes a fresh, clean look. Her appearance suggests that she is secure in her identity as a woman and as a Marine.[200] The lone signifier of technical skills is that she holds and appears to speak into a handheld communications transmitter or microphone, a weak reference to the action code. She gazes up and outside of the picture plane but with a difference. She appears to be occupied with a task versus engaged with a ritualized duty such as saluting the flag. There is no reference to her location. Divorced from the *Be an Officer of Marines* slogan and the Marine Corps emblem, this image is ambiguous. If it were not for these textual elements clearly identifying her as a Marine, the female figure could be a flight attendant, a romanticized occupation for women at that time. The lack of signifying

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[199] Border colors varied, some were white, red, dark blue, or black.

[200] For a discussion on women Marines, femininity, dress code, and cosmetics see Williams, 4, 45-87.

context for this Woman Marine displaces her from the action code and from the ritual code. This Woman Marine is in limbo. What is she doing? What does she represent? The ambiguous nature of this poster overpowers the slight references to technology and work within the Marine Corps. She is primarily a pretty, blond woman wearing a Marine Corps uniform that signifies her membership in the Marine Corps but does not necessarily indicate the opportunities for progress or increasingly active roles available to women in that service. As a recruitment tool for women, its meaning is open enough for virtually any (white) woman to see herself as a member of the Marines in a range of roles. In broader terms, this poster presents a non-threatening image of a Woman Marine whose presence within the Corps would not destabilize its dominant masculine character.

If we assume that the Marine Corps works to maintain its masculine identity, notwithstanding the involvement of women in the Marines, then we can begin to address the question of why it is so important for the Marines to maintain their gender identity as masculine. Governments depend on "ideas of masculinized dignity and feminized sacrifice" to differentiate their nationhood from that of another.[201] It is argued that all nations function this way, and that this state of affairs occludes plurality, diversity, and opportunity in order to preserve and strengthen the nation. According to Barbara Ehrenreich, in "American vernacular, there is no such thing as American nationalism."[202] Instead, the term patriotism is more specific to the rhetoric in the United States. The emotional content of patriotism resists any form of questioning. The Marines' privileged stance as masculine patriots and protectors "glosses and distorts the interests of powerful groups of men" whose

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[201] Enloe, 1990, 196-7.

[202] Ehrenreich, 216.

power is maintained by the normative functioning of militarized masculinity.[203] It allows for a gendered process of national identity and allows for the continuation of a paternalistic social structure. At the individual level in the Marine Corps this preservation of masculine identity enabled the Marine Corps to appear stable. In *Gender Differences At Work*, Christine Williams contends that the constant reiteration in wartime propaganda of the auxiliary nature of women Marines' participation during World War II reflects the concern by policymakers with "maintaining the traditional conceptions of sex roles" in the Marine Corps.[204] She believes that the military's efforts to maintain distinctions between women and men in the Corps were meant to "assuage the trepidations of the men in the military, not the women."[205] According to Williams, Women Marines were perceived as threats to the men's job security and to their role as protectors of the nation – and intrinsically of the women of the nation. Distinctions between male and female Marines were thus continually asserted through differences in dress, in the nature of the duties performed, in recruiting posters, and in the association of action motifs exclusively with male Marines. The recruiting posters in particular needed to retain the traditional references to the masculine identity of the Marine Corps even in the posters for women Marines. When women and war-related motifs are represented within the same poster – as in, for example, the 1943-4 *So Proudly We Serve* poster (see figure 20) – the knowledge that the Woman Marine pictured would not see combat maintained the distinction between the masculine nature of the Marine Corps and the limited role women could play within it. In contrast, by the time women are playing a more active role in the Marines – the 1973 *Be an Officer of the Marines* poster (see figure 21) –

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[203] Brittan, 168.

[204] Williams, 27.

the motifs associated with military activities are completely erased leaving only an ambiguous image of a woman in Marine uniform performing an unidentifiable task. Throughout the history of the Corps, then, women were represented as non-threatening, supportive, and feminine members of the Corps rather than full participants in the very masculinized tasks of the male Marines. The gains by women within the Marine Corps, such as the variety of occupations available to them, are not presented; instead the representation of women, as support staff, remains basically the same through the Vietnam era.

Racial Difference

Prior to 1942 the Marine Corps was officially a white men's organization, although during the American Revolution a small number of African-Americans were listed on muster and pay rolls. From the *Treaty of Paris*, 11 April 1783, that signified the end of the revolution, until President Franklin D. Roosevelt's *Fair Employment Practices Commission, Executive Order No. 8802* on 25 June 1941, there were no African-Americans in the Marine Corps. Rules were set down in 1798 to preclude the enlistment of "Negros, Mulatto or Indian" men into the Marines.[206] There are no known records of African-Americans in the Marine Corps throughout the nineteenth century. Adherence to the rules set out in the 1700's meant that the Marine Corps did not accept African-Americans at all between 1783 and 1942.

Recruiting for African-Americans for World War II Marine Corps Reserve Units began 1 June 1942.[207] The first recruits began training in August 1942 and graduated in

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[205] Ibid, 31.

[206] Shaw, ix.

[207] It had been just over one year, on 25 June 1941, since President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 8802 (Fair Employment Practices Commission). It authorized "all persons regardless of color, race, creed, or national origin" the freedom to join the armed services. For a discussion on African-Americans in the Marine Corps see: Henry I. Shaw, Jr. and Ralph W. Donnelly. *Blacks in the Marine Corps* (Washington, D.C.: History & Museums Division, USMC, 1988).

November.[208] Like the pre-1948 reserve units for women, these all-African-American units were primarily organized for wartime. Unlike the women's reserve, some of these units did see combat duty. After the war, and before the 24 June 1948 peacetime draft, there was a great deal of confusion regarding the status of the African-American Marine Units. All were deactivated by 1947. Many African-Americans left the Marines, and remaining members continued under the restrictions of segregation. On 26 July 1948, President Harry S. Truman signed the Executive Order No. 9981 that directed there be equal treatment within the armed services and the integration of African-Americans into the regular units of the armed forces. After a period of delay, desegregation began in late 1951. Each service achieved full integration by 1954.[209] During the 1950s the number of African-Americans in the Marine Corps increased but due to its smaller size "the Corps escaped the problems of integration the Army faced."[210] Although official Marine Corps practices emphasized non-discrimination towards African-Americans, by the end of the 1960s the divisions between African-American and white Marines manifested in riots.[211] These problems continued into the 1970s. Investigations into the various incidents identified that the Marine Corps problems were no different from those found in mainstream American society. It was recognized that throughout the country young adults were questioning all authority figures,

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[208] African-American recruits trained at Montford Point, a segregated boot camp that was part of the larger Camp Lejeune Marine Corps base.

[209] See Maj. James Sanders Day, "Integration of the Armed Forces" in *Reference Guide To United States Military History 1945 to the Present.* Ed. Charles R. Shrader, 276-7. (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1995). In 1963, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara attempted to extend equal treatment beyond military installations, setting the stage for the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

[210] Millett, 509.

[211] According to Allan Millett, there was a race riot in July 1969 at Camp Lejeune (formerly Montford Point), where several white Marines were beaten (one died). Incidents continued there and at other Marine Corps bases such as in Hawaii, San Diego, and Camp Pendleton. Racial dissent in Vietnam resulted in a grenade being thrown into a crowded enlisted club at Da Nang (sixty-two were injured, one died). See Millett, 599-600.

and "new recruits brought this attitude with them when they joined."[212] By 30 September 1973 the number of African-Americans enlisted in the Marine Corps was 17.41%.[213] In 2003, 15% of Marines were African-America.[214]

Considering these statistics, it is understandable that the representation of the African-American male was infrequent in Marine Corps poster history.[215] During the 1930s the stereotype of a 'black' man was used as an exotic touch in a recruiting poster promoting travel as an exciting aspect of Marine life. Within the collection at the Marine Corps Historical Center, there are no images of African-American Marines in recruiting posters until after the early years of the Vietnam conflict. In the 1960s, the Marine Corps was prompted to include the African-American male in their recruiting posters by the "negro question" and by the realization that the lack of identifiers in recruiting efforts for men who were not white was problematic. Four posters have been selected to examine the representation of African-Americans in Marine Corps recruiting practice. The first poster from the 1930s offers the opportunity to discuss the marketing branch's manipulation of the African-American stereotype and the Marine as social type (see figure 22).[216] The remaining three posters date from the 1960s and 1970s. One is from the *Builds Men* series discussed in

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[212] Captain Dawson (USMC Historical Center), "Enduring Myths: USMC Manpower and the Vietnam Period", Paper presented at 11th Annual Annapolis Naval Academy Symposium on Naval History, Annapolis, Maryland: October 22, 1993.

[213] Shaw, 75.

[214] See *Time*, 29 December 2003, 54. This percentage is not very different from the other services. African-Americans represent 26.3% of Army personnel, 19% in the Navy, and 16.2% in the Air Force.

[215] African-American women do not appear in recruiting material until the 1970s. The first African-American women enlisted in 1949.

[216] *U.S. Marines: Go Everywhere See Everything*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, c.1930s, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

Chapter 2 that relied on the action code, and the two remaining are part of the late 1960s series *Ask A Marine*, which emphasized the ritual code (see figures 14, 16, 23).[217]

Still flush with pride over their role in the victories of World War I and fully involved with the occupations of American interests in the Pacific, the 1930s *U.S. Marines: Go Everywhere, See Everything* (see figure 22) recruiting poster communicated an uncomplimentary stereotype of the African-American man while presenting the Marine as a standard illustration of the action code.[218] Reproducing a cartoon initially published in *The Recruiter's Bulletin* in 1919, the upper register of the poster contains a drawn image with two figures: a large dark-skinned man in a grass skirt with a crown on his head and a smaller man in a Marine Corps field uniform with a rifle and a WWI German helmet, a reminder of the Marine Corps' military successes in the recent war, hanging off his cartridge belt. The background indicates that they are in a tropical location (there are palm trees, an ocean, and sand), an indication of the Marines' own presence in South-East Asia and the Caribbean during the latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The Marine is walking away but looks over his shoulder at the larger man who touches the crown on his head as he gazes with some concern at the helmet hanging from the Marine's belt. The question mark situated over the head of the dark-skinned man is answered by the text box beside the Marine that reads: *Your crown is safe-as long as you're good!* This threat of military action is emphasized by the literalized connection between crown and World War I helmet,

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[217] *The Marine Corps Builds Men: Body, Mind, Spirit,* recruiting poster, photomontage/paper, 1963, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard; *Ask A Marine: Pride in America*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, c.1968, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard; *The Marines are looking for a few good men: who want to lead,* recruiting poster, photograph/paper, 1972, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

and the implication that the Marine's conquest of the Bismarck regime prepared them to take over any troublesome nation. Although superficially extolling the virtues of travel and opportunity for action in many parts of the world, this poster also represents the power of the United States in the person of the white Marine.[219] The negative stereotypical image of the "south sea island king" accentuated the perceived savageness and inadequacy of developing nations in the Caribbean and the Pacific by the American administration. The Marine's control of the situation visually subordinates the masculinity of the larger African-American man and reveals underlying themes of Social Darwinism and manifest destiny. Anthony Hall considers this a means to display the "seemingly inevitable course of the United States's leadership in vanquishing savagery and securing the West for civilization's ascendance."[220] The poster sanctions the dominance of the white, male Marine and the representation of difference. To be candid, it is an anomaly within the Corps's recruiting practice, since there are few images of "the enemy" of any form in the recruiting posters. I include it here to emphasize that the Marine Corps saw itself as a white institution. The main question is whether this self-conception of the Corps remained after Vietnam when the "deep political schisms…changed the symbolic geography" and altered many "naïve certainties on which many pillars of American nationalism had been built."[221]

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[218] This recruiting poster, with no publisher's marks, may have been pieced together and could have been two different posters. The artist is identified simply as FGR. The image also appears in *The Recruiter's Bulletin* vol.5, no.6 (July 1919), 24.

[219] See Allan Millett, "Colonial Infantry, 1899-1941" in *Semper Fidelis The History of the United States Marine Corps* (New York: The Free Press, 1991), 147-263.

[220] Anthony L. Hall. "Preface" in *The American Empire and the Fourth World. The Bowl with One Spoon Vol.1* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), xvii.

[221] Ibid.

Tendencies in recruiting posters early in the Vietnam conflict confirm the pre-eminence of the white Marine. The photographic montage used to create *The Marine Corps Builds Men Body, Mind, Spirit* recruiting poster portrays various figures in a number of Marine uniforms: a large portrait of a white Marine in dress blues dominates the picture, while four smaller figures form a triangle on the right side of the poster. Of the four figures, one is African-American, which makes this poster one of the few to include a representation of an African-American Marine in the early Vietnam period. As a denotation of the well-rounded possibilities for Marine recruits, this poster lists the various areas of opportunity and is a visual reiteration of the slogan "*Land, Sea, Air*" found on posters such as Paul Woyschner's World War II remake of Sidney H. Riesenberg's 1917 *U.S. Marines: Active Service on Land and Sea*, the "Walking John" poster. It utilizes both ritual and action codes, thereby restating a common technique in Marine Corps poster production. The dominance of the ritual code during the period 1968 to 1970 curtailed its use, but the technique reappeared in the immediate post-Vietnam period for the Marines.[222] The implication is that when the recruit joined the Marines he emerged a better, more rounded man in mind, body, and spirit. Several recruiting posters of this period emphasized the multiple benefits of membership in the Marine brotherhood. The large dress blue Marine is the foundation figure in this 1963 poster and his overwhelming presence is achieved simply through the depiction of his head and shoulders. This partial image of a Marine is reminiscent of the posters used through the Cold War that put across their message of ritual and masculinity by accentuating the dress blue uniform (see figure 11). The dramatic lighting on this authoritarian figure reiterates the dual representation of the Marine role in terms of ritual and action. The well-lit side

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[222] The Marines started withdrawal from Vietnam in 1969.

highlights the Marine Corps emblem (eagle, globe and anchor) on the hat, collar and button, and is a conventional representation of the strong, squared-away, ritual Marine.[223] The side in shadow serves as ground for the smaller action-oriented figures. These figures are suspended in the picture plane, in action poses, but isolated from any representation of activity. One of four figures, the African-American Marine is a natural part of the illustration, an indication of the full participation, by 1963, of African Americans in the Marine Corps. In conjunction with the paternal image of the larger white Marine, the African-American Marine image remains under the control of the time-honoured symbol of the Marine Corps's identity. Although included, the African-American Marine, who may be a door-gunner, does not rise to the status of the dress blue Marine, and as such, does not challenge the representation of the Marine Corps as primarily a white organization. This African-American Marine is part of the Marine Corps but is represented as one of the support guys. In this way, this early poster is typical of the representations of African-Americans and women as supporting the Corps. The poster's rhetorical content conveys to the American society that the Marine Corps is addressing their issues regarding civil rights and equality. In a predominantly white male organization, it provides a message of welcome to the Marine Corps for the potential African-American recruit.

In Chapter 2, I argued that the poster *Ask a Marine: Pride in America* from 1968 offered a message of acceptance and support by society for the Marines and their expression of pride in the nation that they serve. The placement of the African-American Marine indicates that his status had evolved. He stands beside the white, male Marine as the bearer

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[223] The Eagle: Denotes service to the United States; The Globe: Granted by King George IV in 1827 in place of Battle Honours; The Fouled Anchor: The Admiralty Badge. Denotes that the Corps is part of the Naval Service. The British Marines first wore it in 1747.

of the American flag. Both exhibit the characteristics of the ideal masculine Marine body of the ritual code: narrow waist, broad-shoulders, and athletic trimness. The African-American Marine has taken on the characteristics of the white Marine of the ritual code and of the ideal masculinity of militarism. One reading of this poster is that the trope of pride has expanded from an expression about the nation to what the nation has accomplished. It celebrates the integration of African-Americans into the Marine Corps that translates into an elevation of their status in American society. If they can be part of an elite element of an esteemed organization, like the color guard, then there appears to be some progress toward a solution to the problems that plagued society in 1968.

Another reading is not so sanguine since the representation of the African-American Marine remains partial. Although included within the poster, much larger in scale than in previously discussed posters, and with many of the characteristics of the masculine ideal, this Marine remains on the boundary, his rank indiscernible. Although he carries a flag, his body is lacking. The primary sign of masculinity remains the centralized highly decorated, white, Marine who carries the rifle. It is that Marine who retains the ability to defend and protect, he is symbolically protecting the flag and the flag bearer. There are few posters from the Vietnam period that contain the African-American Marine; all of them retain this technique of placing the African-American Marine subordinate to the white Marine. With respect to the facial characteristics of African Americans, it often appears that the marketing team simply painted a black face on a white body.

As previously stated, racial tensions were high in the Marine Corps in the late 1960s and early 1970s. There was a realization that racism was a fundamental feature of the United States and that American society "not only harboured, but depended upon" this "profound

violation of the spirit of democracy."[224] The rise of the civil-rights movement, of Black Nationalism and Black Power, developed from consistent questioning of the structures of racism. Widespread demonstrations demanding change occurred across the United States. Broadly speaking, the Marine Corps reflected the African-American discontent evident in American society; at the same time it was under pressure from other arenas such as the counterculture and antiwar sentiments. The *Los Angeles Times* reported in 1969 that the Marine Corps was 600 to 700 men behind its quota to enlist 3000 men for its officer candidate school because of the effectiveness of the antiwar dissenters.[225] Many Marine officers and commanders, such as former Commandant General Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., blamed a great deal of the racial and disciplinary problems apparent in the Marine Corps in the late 1960s into the 1970s on Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara's Project 100,000.[226] This was a program designed to "salvage" men who had previously been rejected for military service, frequently because of their low aptitude and inability to pass entry-level tests. Among the key assumptions of the program was that the military service would provide "young black men with male role models."[227] In this way, it was argued, the Marine Corps would solve some of the social problems apparent in American society. Assessed together, the accumulation of all of these societal changes and government demands seemed to question the fundamental tenets of the Marine Corps.

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[224] Wahneema Lubiano, ed. *The House that Race Built. Black Americans, U.S. Terrain* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1997), vii.

[225] "Recruiting Slowed by Campus Dissent, Top Marine Admits" in *Los Angeles Times*, 24 June 1969, A-3.

[226] See David A. Dawson. "The Great Society in Vietnam: The Impact of Project 100,000 on the Marine Corps" an unpublished paper delivered at the conference *Remembering Tet*, Salisbury State University, 21 November 1992. General Chapman was Commandant of the Marine Corps from 1 July 1968 to 31 December 1971.

[227] Ibid.

In this environment African-American Marines, like their civilian counterparts, questioned their status. To help ease these tensions the Marine Corps organized a study group that put forward a number of proposals including increasing the visibility of African-American Marines, in particular African-American officers. This started a series of officer procurement posters that targeted African-Americans. In the 1972 poster, *The Marines are looking for a few good men: who want to lead,* an African-American Marine officer, in dress blues, is the central figure of the poster.[228] He is standing facing three other Marines also in dress blue uniforms. They appear to be in review formation on a parade ground and all are at attention. Only the left gloved hand in the top, right corner of the poster indicates one of the Marines but the back views of the other two are almost completely visible. It is a bright, sunny day. The African-American officer is a decorated officer (identified by his combat ribbons, medals, and the Mameluke sword) and appears to be the only African-American in the poster.

It is apparent that this African-American officer is neither in charge of a segregated unit nor a unit made up of primarily African-American men, which would be typical of a World War II poster illustration. Instead he appears to be reviewing white Marines, his position signifies that the Marine Corps is an equal opportunity organization where African-Americans can move up through the ranks in the same ways that are offered to whites. There is an appearance of racial integration in this poster that is combined with the concept of respect for and esteem from the Marine Corps. This African-American Marine is one of "*a few good men*," a slogan that dates back to the beginning of Marine Corps recruiting, thereby linking the African-American Marine with that long tradition and history. In fact, it

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[228] The use of upper and lower case for the lettering in this slogan is how it appears on the poster.

also references the reality of the numbers of African-American officers in the Marine Corps during this time period. In May 1967 there were 155 African-American officers, and by 30 September 1973, after six years of effort, their number had more than doubled.[229] Notwithstanding the greater presence of the African-American in representations of the Marine Corps during this time, there still seem to be questions about their portrayal.

Another reading of this poster places the African-American officer on review in anticipation of his acceptance into the ranks of the white Marines. It offers a view of difference. Note the different belt that the African-American is wearing: it indicates that he is an officer but to the public eye, or the inexperienced eye of a potential recruit, it denotes difference. The other men in the poster are enlisted Marines, indicated by their white belts. The white belt on the dress blue uniform is a familiar recruiting practice in Marine Corps posters; this familiarity makes it seem more natural. The African-American officer, although of higher rank, appears to defer to the lower ranking white Marines; his demeanour appears almost overly attentive. He does not seem to exhibit the same level of confidence and easy stance found in the earlier depictions of white, male Marines of the ritual code, such as the Leyendecker Marines from the World War I period or the Marines of the *Ask a Marine* series discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. To distance this Marine further from the ideal, it is noticeable that his demeanour is not even as composed as the fragmented African-American Marine of the *Pride in America* poster. Nevertheless, he appears as if he is poised on the threshold, he has done what it takes to be what the "*Marines are looking for*" and he gives the impression of being prepared to lead. The question is whether he has attained that status yet. Ambiguities

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[229] See Shaw, 75. "On 30 September 1973, there were 378 African-American officers, 367 men and 11 women, 2.03 percent of the total number of Marine officers on active duty."

in the representation of the uniforms found in this poster, combined with the infrequent representations of African-Americans in positions of power or leadership, uphold the African-American Marine's status as the "other". He approximates the ideal masculinity but cannot obtain it.

Without the stress of a long difficult war and rampant racial and societal tension both in the Marine Corps and in society, I believe that the Marine Corps would not have developed recruiting practices to target African-Americans during the Vietnam period. The evidence provided from the reading of those posters that include images of African-American Marines along with their white counterparts indicates that, even after 1969, the Marine Corps carefully maintained the status of its traditional symbol of militarized masculinity.

> Sometimes integration propaganda does not need to rewrite the counter-visions of reality which threaten to subvert it; it merely overpowers them by marshalling its own preferred interpretants.[230]

The Marine Corps' role in envisioning and representing itself is paramount in its management of the social formation that supports the organization. We like to think that everyone is equal but in reality we encounter processes of socialization that work to counter change and retain the status quo. During times of conflict the need to maintain stability within organizations, particularly such conservative organizations as the Marine Corps, increases. Therefore it is not surprising to see the assimilation of the African-American Marine body into the structures of white militarism. In this way, the Marine Corps attempted to offset the growing narrative of dissent within its ranks yet retain a foundational element to its recruiting practice.

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[230] A. P. Foulkes, *Literature and Propaganda* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1983), 42.

Marine Corps recruiting posters during the Vietnam period were required to negotiate a period in American history when questions were being asked about the legitimacy of that society when it was engaged in a foreign war. When American society was searching for answers and direction, these recruiting posters attempted to offer access to solutions by returning to traditional Marine Corps imagery and practice. This analysis of the representations of women and African-Americans in the Marine Corps posters suggests that the nuances of the period offered unique situations for the Marines. I have used these posters to look at ways that the Marine Corps either turned aside or incorporated representations of difference into their recruiting practice. It is apparent, with regards to women, that the Marine Corps offered a minimal attempt to recruit women into the Corps during the 1960s and early 1970s. The racial violence and confrontations of the period dictated that they could not do the same with African-Americans. Therefore, the Marine Corps defused these images of difference. Recruiters offered images of women that were safe and non-threatening, representations that have typified recruiting strategies for women from the time they were allowed to enlist. These representations were provided alongside references to the masculinity of the Corps. It is this masculinity that envelops the African-American Marines. The Marine Corps's sense of their own masculine nature has derived from their perception of and reaction to the masculinity and femininity of "others". In the end the Marines came out with a clearer sense of their identity as a masculine organization and in that sense they reclaimed and crystallized their connection to the militarized nation.

Conclusion

It is easy to accept the simple categorization of recruiting posters as cultural objects used to present the messages of the dominant ideology. What this thesis suggests is the need to question the simplicity of that categorization and to complicate the process of looking. Marine Corps recruiting posters are highly constructed visual objects, the products of a concerted program of image development. As with all advertising, the signifiers used in recruiting posters are neither arbitrary nor accidental. They are coherent and intentional. They exercise power. I have shown that the signifiers commonly used in Marine Corps posters can be categorized into two codes. The description of the tension between the use of the ritual code and the action code across the history of Marine Corps recruiting is also a history of the reception of the Marine Corps by the American public. When there was a need to rally the troops in preparation for action in World War I, the recruiting poster presented the combat-ready Marine. When there was a need to emphasize the Corps' role as capable guard and protector of the nation, the Marine Corps presented a thirty-two foot high Marine in dress blues who was ready for the tasks ahead. During peacetime, the recruiting poster offered benefits such as education and opportunities for travelling the world. The Cold War period fostered the reiteration of signs that had emphasized the Marines' tenacity and hard work during World War II. The interchange or combination of ritual and action code signifiers was shown to flow relatively smoothly, with slight modification to account for uniform and equipment changes over time.

As indicated, the identification of American society with the Marines was due in large part to the development of the sign of the ideal Marine. The consistent reiteration of this normative embodiment augmented the identification process; it naturalized the sign and embedded its signification into the fabric of the American nation. This hegemonic body is

invisible. Its constructedness is unproblematic since it is an accepted and omnipresent social type in society. Over time, the self-reflective process of the Marine Corps marketing branch generated cleaner, clearer representations of this ideal militarized masculinity. It reached mythical levels. The ideal Marine of the Poster Zeller era, with its combat references, proceeded to the concentration on the ritual signifiers of the dress blue uniform in the Vietnam period. The white, male Marine in dress blues embodied the Marine Corps and in turn was a sign for the nation. Its power appeared impenetrable. It worked to subvert and subsume other forms of masculinity to maintain its hegemonic status. As Roland Barthes points out, myth has a dual function, it informs and acts.[231] The ideal Marine reiterated meaning about the Marine Corps and it imposed that meaning as myth.

When asked if the structure and components of a poster from 1866 would still be effective in 1995, Lt. Col. Robert E. Wilson Jr., USMC, Branch Head of Marketing answered "yes", because "there will always be a part of American society which wants to be a United States Marine."[232] This statement recognizes the authority of the Marine Corps sign. It also implies that the Marine Corps recruiting process sees itself as being removed from its historicity: the sign is projected as trans-historical, powerful, and unaltered. However, as I have argued, the social disruption of the Vietnam period had an impact on Marine Corps recruiting and revealed that the sign of militarized masculinity for the nation was not immutable. It was influenced by the environment of the Vietnam period that introduced three elements into the situation: the war and its impact on the social values of the United States, women's rights and the growing role of women in the military, and the racial tensions in society and the Marine

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[231] Susan Sontag, ed. *A Barthes Reader* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 102.

[232] Interview with the author: January 13, 1993 Navy Annex, Washington, D.C.

Corps. Mass-media images of Marines at war and internal changes and dissent in American society relating to women and African-American men, forced a modification of recruiting practice. This disruption offered an opportunity to examine the functioning of visual images in the development of national identity. The inclusion of women and African-Americans in recruiting imagery had not occurred with any consistency until the Vietnam period. Their appearance at that time indicated that there was a need for the Marine Corps to appear responsive to the issues concerning Americans. Did it represent real change? The simple answer is no. A more complicated reply is that the message of new directions and opportunities in an evolving military organization gave the appearance that the Marine Corps was responding to sought-after changes in the status of women and African-Americans in American society. They also acted to reflect real situations of racial tension within the Marine Corps. Since the nation was under question so were the signifiers of that identity. The recruiting themes for women and African-American men diverted and co-opted attention away from the conflict and from direct reference to the embattled Marines and nation. They promoted the tangible benefits of membership in the Marine Corps. Likewise, within the context of these posters the adjunct signifiers related to the ideal Marine sign served to decrease the ambiguity for the reader who was not attuned to the new signifiers of women and African-American men and their status in the Marine Corps. These inclusionary actions reinforced the tradition-bound image of the nation and nationalism: the naturalized connection between the Marine Corps, masculinity, and the upkeep of societal duty and morality is reproduced in USMC recruiting posters. They provide visual representations of the nation. Women remained in a supportive role, literally and connotatively as a support for military action. The African-American Marine visually verified the recruiting slogan that the Marine Corps builds men. Although initially a

diversionary tactic that dealt with the human rights issues and racial tension current to the period, the African-American Marine was incorporated into the ideal Marine sign. He was the ideal Marine in body and uniform except for the color of his skin. The African-American Marine was molded to the specification of the ideal Marine and in that conversion indicated his support. The inclusionary activity showed the Marine Corps as a flexible organization, with a solid hold on its identity, an organization that could manipulate the signifiers required for the time period to solidify its own identity further. The recruiting strategies of the time served as a vehicle for the continued dissemination of the ideal Marine sign.

To look at this whole process under a different light is to consider this discussion of the Vietnam period, with its manipulations and renegotiations of status and space, as evidence that it was not the new stressors, the women and the African-American Marines, that needed support but the traditional ideal Marine sign. Perhaps it was just a case of muddling through a particularly difficult period in history? In order to retain its presence and credibility, the ideal Marine sign, the white male in dress blues, needed to be seen with representations of women and African-American Marines until there was a more receptive climate. Either way, the fact that the ideal Marine was returned to a place of prominence in Marine Corps recruiting practice does not discredit the results of this examination. It provides evidence of the strength of that sign, its power, and its agency within the complexity of the American identity, it adds to the material relating to the degree of disruption generated in the Vietnam period in the 1960s and early 1970s, and it opens discussion about the period of retrenchment of the traditional right wing in American society that followed the Vietnam era. Above all, this thesis shows that the myth of the ideal Marine with its particular militaristic masculinity and connection with national

identity is alterable. This observation means that there is room for learning and evolution within the fabric of a society. If that is true, it gives us hope.

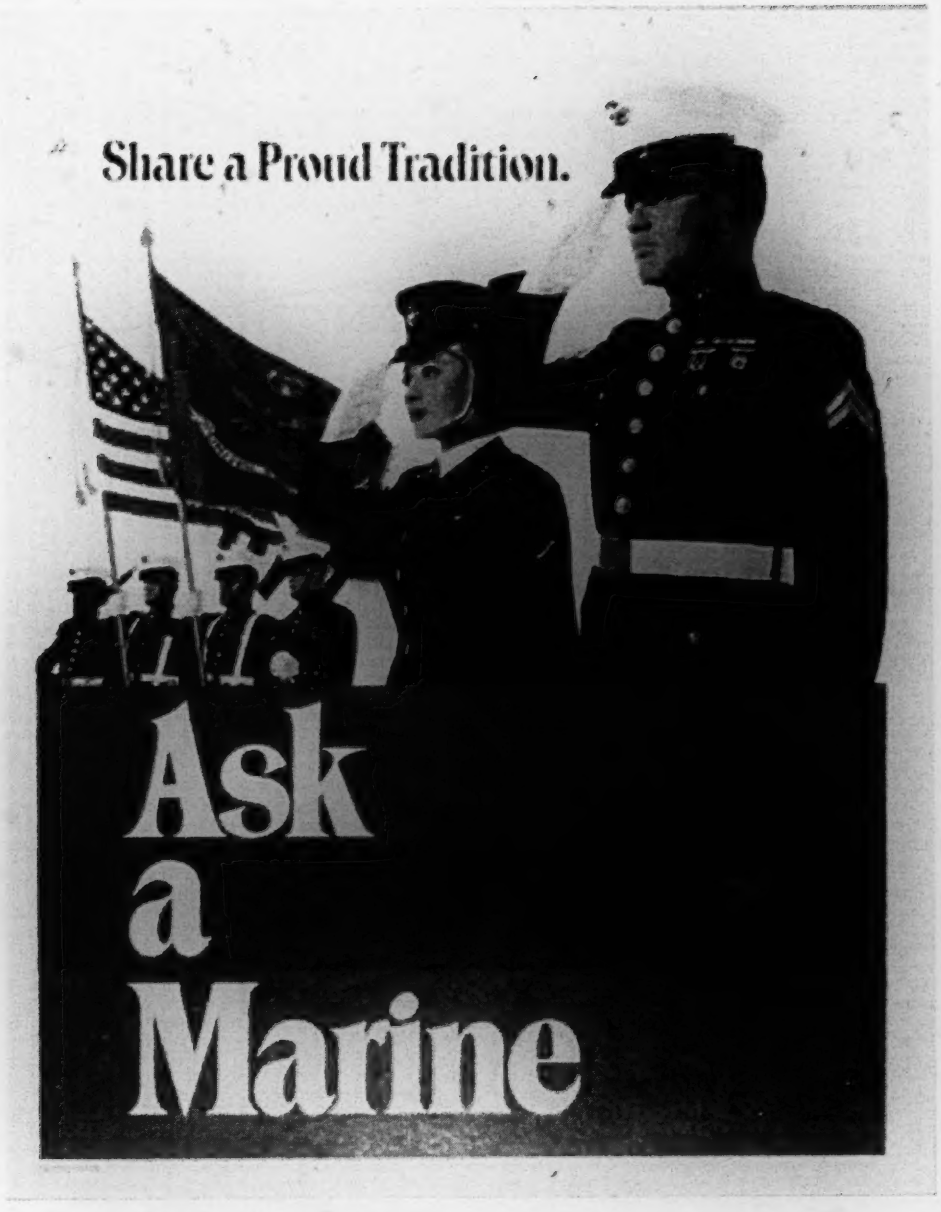
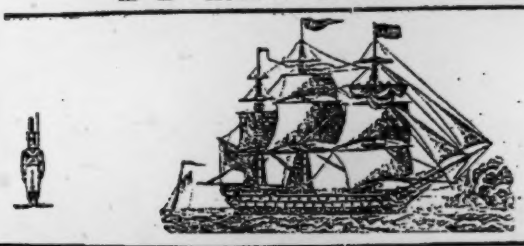


Fig. 1. *Ask a Marine: Share a Proud Tradition* recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1968, Control #P-161, NAVMC Series 7057, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

U.S. MARINES WANTED!



YOUNG MEN

Between the ages of 21 and 35 years, enlisting in this corps, are first instructed in their duties as soldiers at the Barrack, Brooklyn, N. Y.; after the acquirement of this knowledge, they are held in readiness to be sent on board U. S. vessels of war, destined for foreign stations.

The following is the amount of Pay, Clothing and Rations that each Soldier receives during the period of his four years' engagement.

AMOUNT OF PAY:

First Sergeants of Barracks and Guards on board vessels of war,	$708 00
Other Sergeants, at Barracks and on board vessels of war,	624 00
Corporals,	432 00
Privates,	336 00

AMOUNT OF CLOTHING:

Dress Caps	Pompons	Belts	Cotton Cords	Epaulets	Linen Pantaloons	Woollen Pantaloons	Shirts	Stocks	Blankets	Knapsacks	Socks	Fatigue Caps	Fatigue Jackets	Fatigue Pantaloons	Great Coats
1	3	2	2	1	2	4	16	16	2	2	8	2	2	2	2

RATIONS.—IN BARRACKS, ARMY RATIONS ARE ISSUED.

DAILY RATIONS ON BOARD VESSELS OF WAR.

	POUNDS						OUNCES							POINTS			
	Bread	Pork	Fresh Beef	Rice	Soft Bread or Dried Fish	Pickles or Cider Vinegar	Biscuit	Sugar	Tea	Coffee	Cocoa	Butter	Cheese	Beans	Molasses	Vinegar	Spirits
SUNDAY,	1	1	2		1		16	2	1	1	1			1			
MONDAY,	1			2		1	16	2	1	1	1	2	2				
TUESDAY,	1	1			1		16	2	1	1	1					1	
WEDNESDAY,	1		2				16	2	1	1	1	2	2		1		
THURSDAY,	1	1		2	1		16	2	1	1	1			1			1
FRIDAY,	1					1	16	2	1	1	1	2	2			1	
SATURDAY,	1	1	2		1		16	2	1	1	1						
WEEKLY QUANTITY.	7	3	4	2	4	2	112	14	7	7	7	4	4	2	1	2	1

Any other information respecting the service generally, can be obtained by applying at the RENDEZVOUS,

JOHN GEO. REYNOLDS,
Capt. Com'd'g Recruiting.

LEES & FOULKES' Print, 20 Fulton-st., Brooklyn.

Fig. 2. Capt. John G. Reynolds, *U.S. Marines Wanted!: Young Men*, recruiting poster, typeset on paper, c.1847, 17.6x22cm. (8x10").

Fig. 3. Joseph Christian Leyendecker, *U.S. Marines: "Soldiers of the Sea,"* recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1917, oil/canvas painting c.1914, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, P-34, #227-2-1.

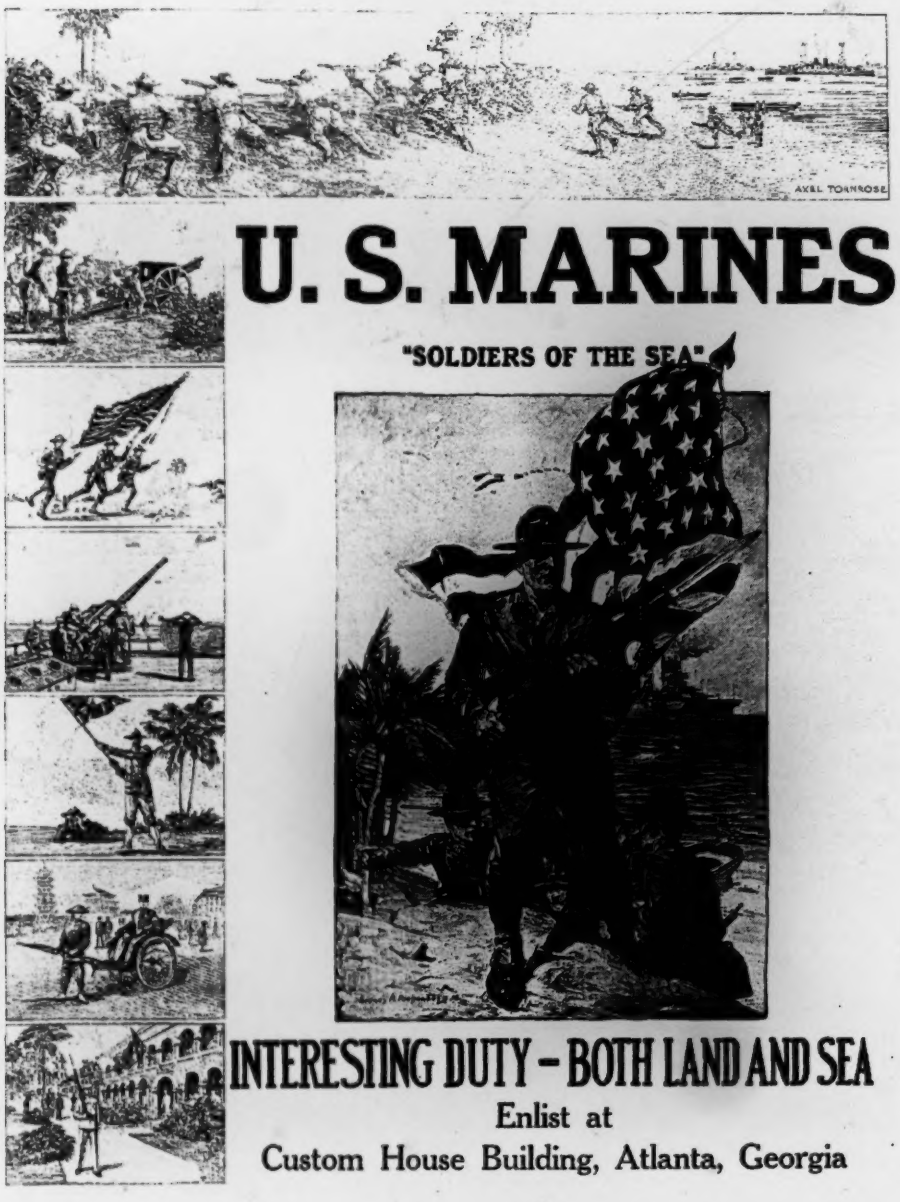


Fig. 4. Sidney H. Riesenberg, *U.S. Marines: "Soldiers of the Sea," Interesting Duty-Both Land and Sea*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1916, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

Fig. 5. Sidney H. Riesenberg, *U.S. Marines: Active Service on Land and Sea,* recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, c. May 1917, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, H-927, #28.

Fig. 6. James Montgomery Flagg, *Be A U.S. Marine!*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, c.1917-1918, oil/canvas painting, Susan E. Meyer private collection, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, P-4, P-22, #82-2-3.

Fig. 7. James Montgomery Flagg, *Want Action? Join U.S. Marine Corps!*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, c.1941-2, oil/canvas, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, P-20.

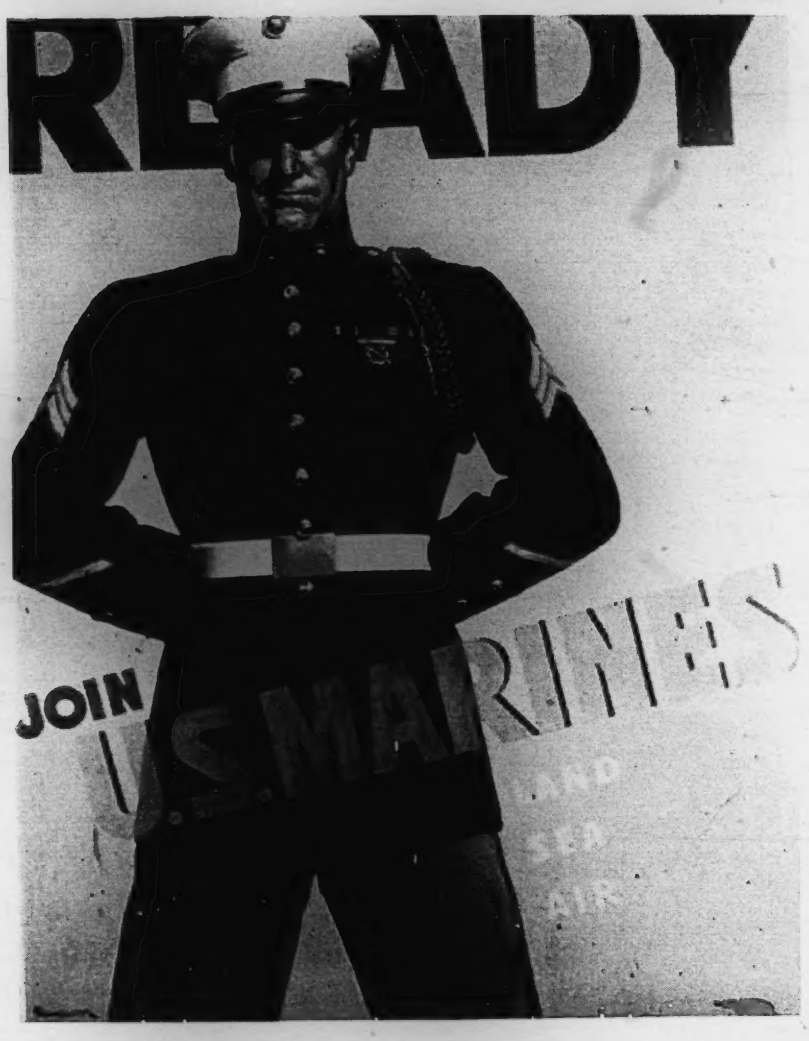


Fig. 8. Haddon Sundblom, *Ready: Join U.S. Marines, Land, Sea, Air*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 2 October 1942, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, P-61, REQN #1546, 10-02-42, 15,000 produced, Series 436 PB.

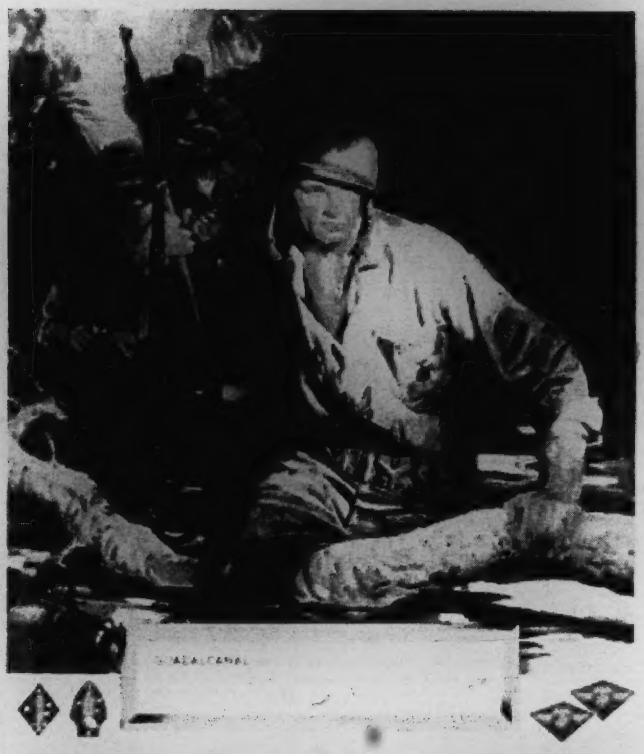


Fig. 9. Sgt. Tom Lovell, *Enlist Now U.S. Marine Corps: Guadalcanal*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1945, 1952, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, P-72, NAVMC Series 6000.

Fig. 10. Sgt. Tom Lovell, *Enlist Now U.S. Marine Corps: Iwo Jima*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1945, 1952, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, P-76, NAVMC Series 6000.

Fig. 11. *Join Today!: man to man...be a Marine,* recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1955, Marine Corps Museum, Quantico, VA., P-169, NAVMC Series 6059.

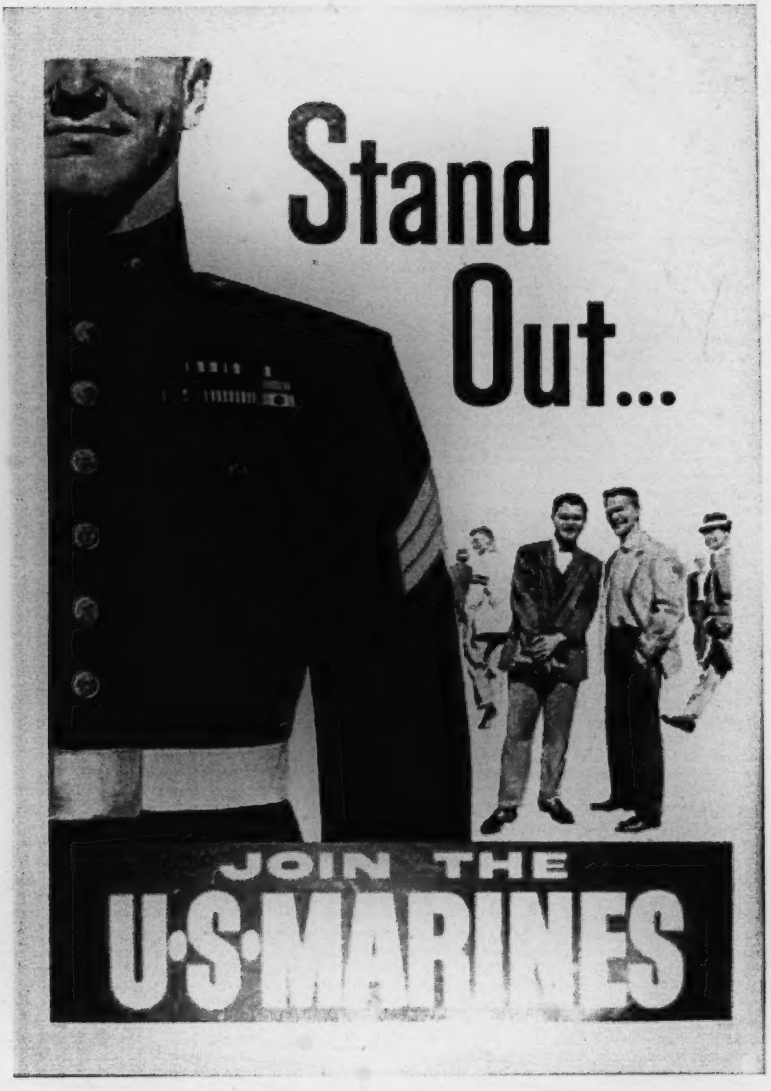


Fig. 12. *Join the U.S. Marines: Stand Out*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1956, Marine Corps Museum, Quantico, VA., P-177, #734-65, NAVMC Series 6070.

Fig. 13. *Join the Marines: Esprit*, recruiting poster, photomontage/paper, 1961, Marine Corps Museum, Quantico, VA., P-178, NAVMC Series 6791, #765-65.

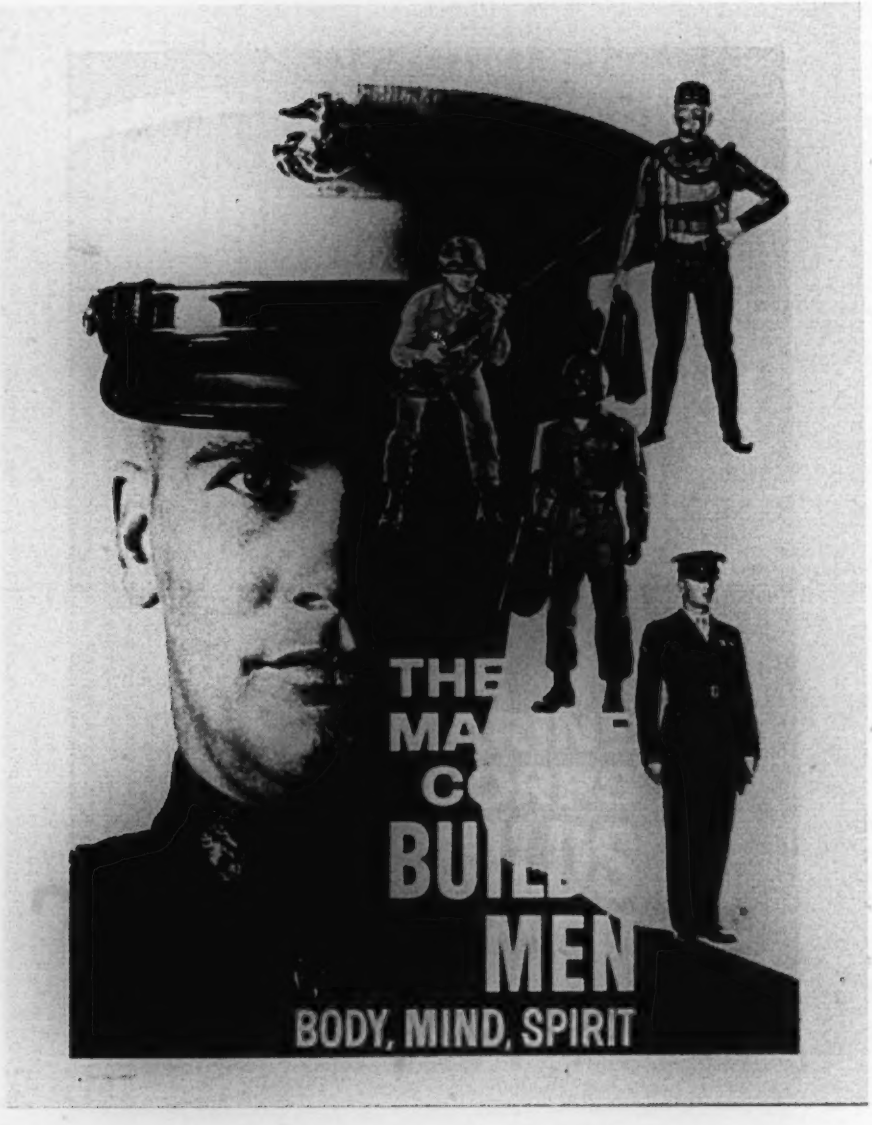


Fig. 14. *The Marine Corps Builds Men: Body, Mind, Spirit*, photomontage/paper, 1963, Marine Corps Historical Center, Quantico, VA., P-148, NAVMC Series 6881.

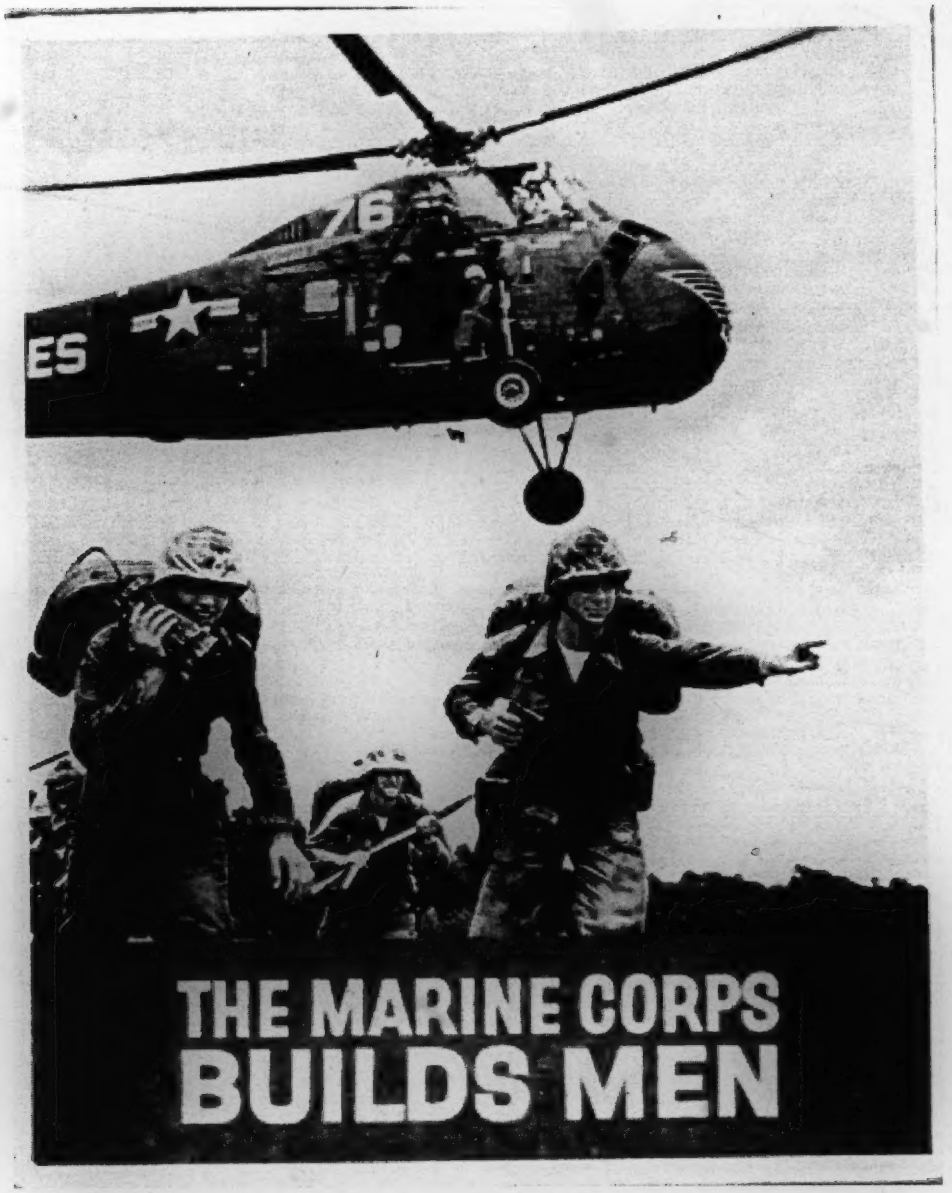


Fig. 15. *The Marine Corps Builds Men,* photograph/paper, 1965, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, P-147.

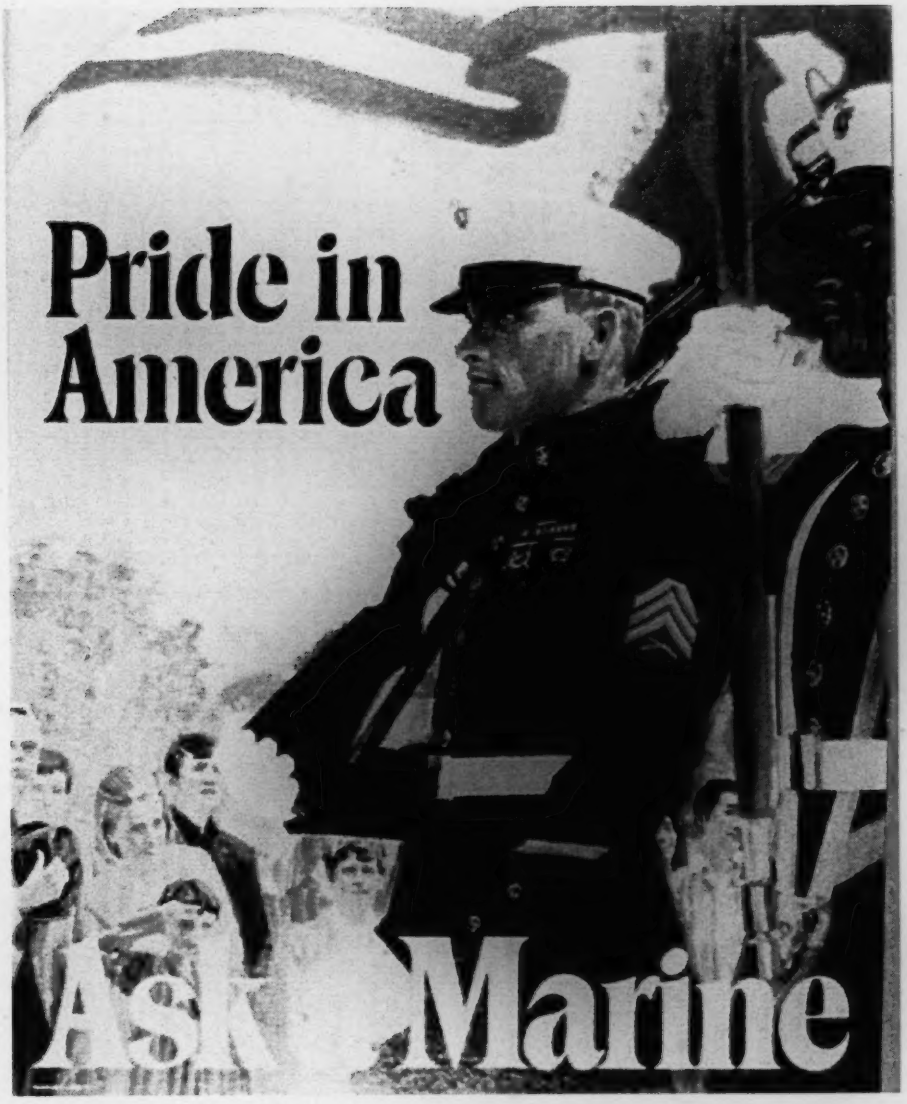


Fig. 16. *Ask a Marine: Pride in America,* recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, c.1968, NAVMC Series 7075, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

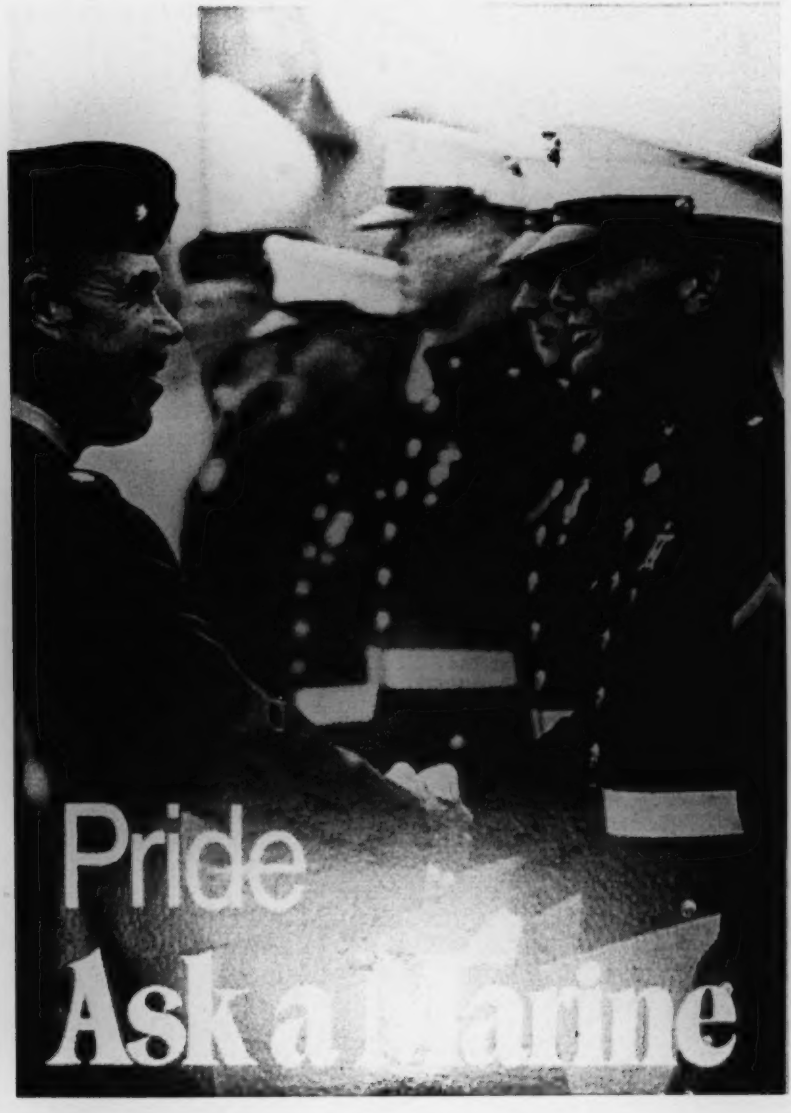


Fig. 17. *Ask a Marine: Pride*, recruiting poster, photograph/paper, 1969, Control #P-160, NAVMC Series 7084, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

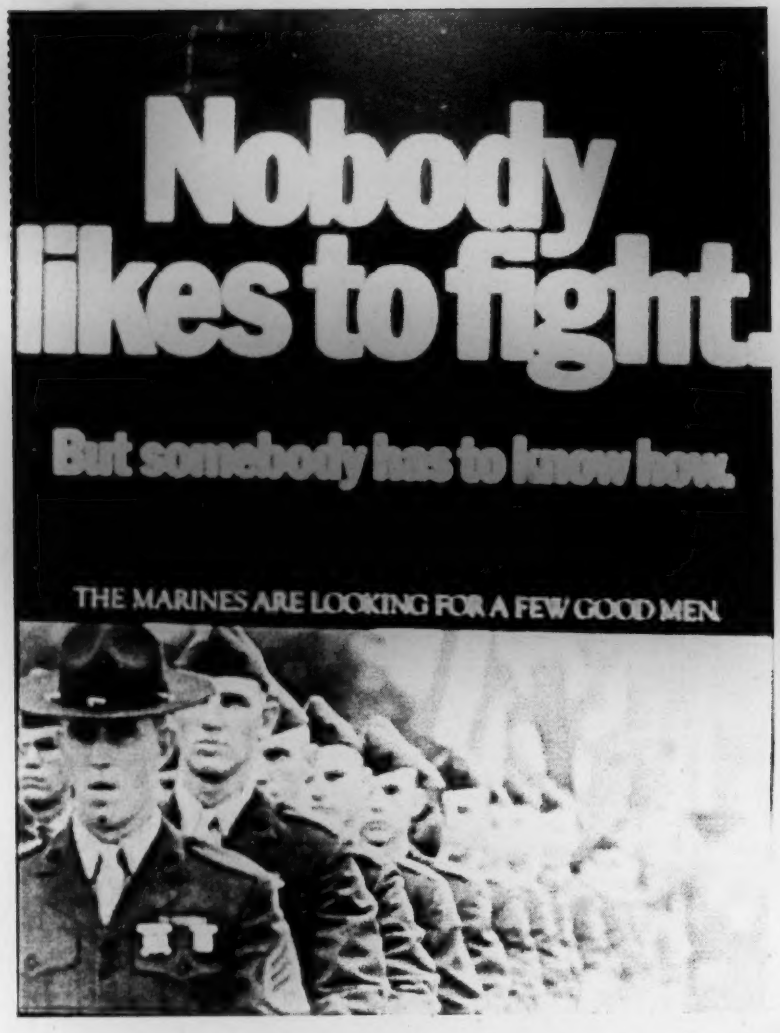


Fig. 18. *The Marines are Looking for a Few Good Men: Nobody likes to fight. But somebody has to know how*, recruiting poster, photograph/paper, c.1970, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

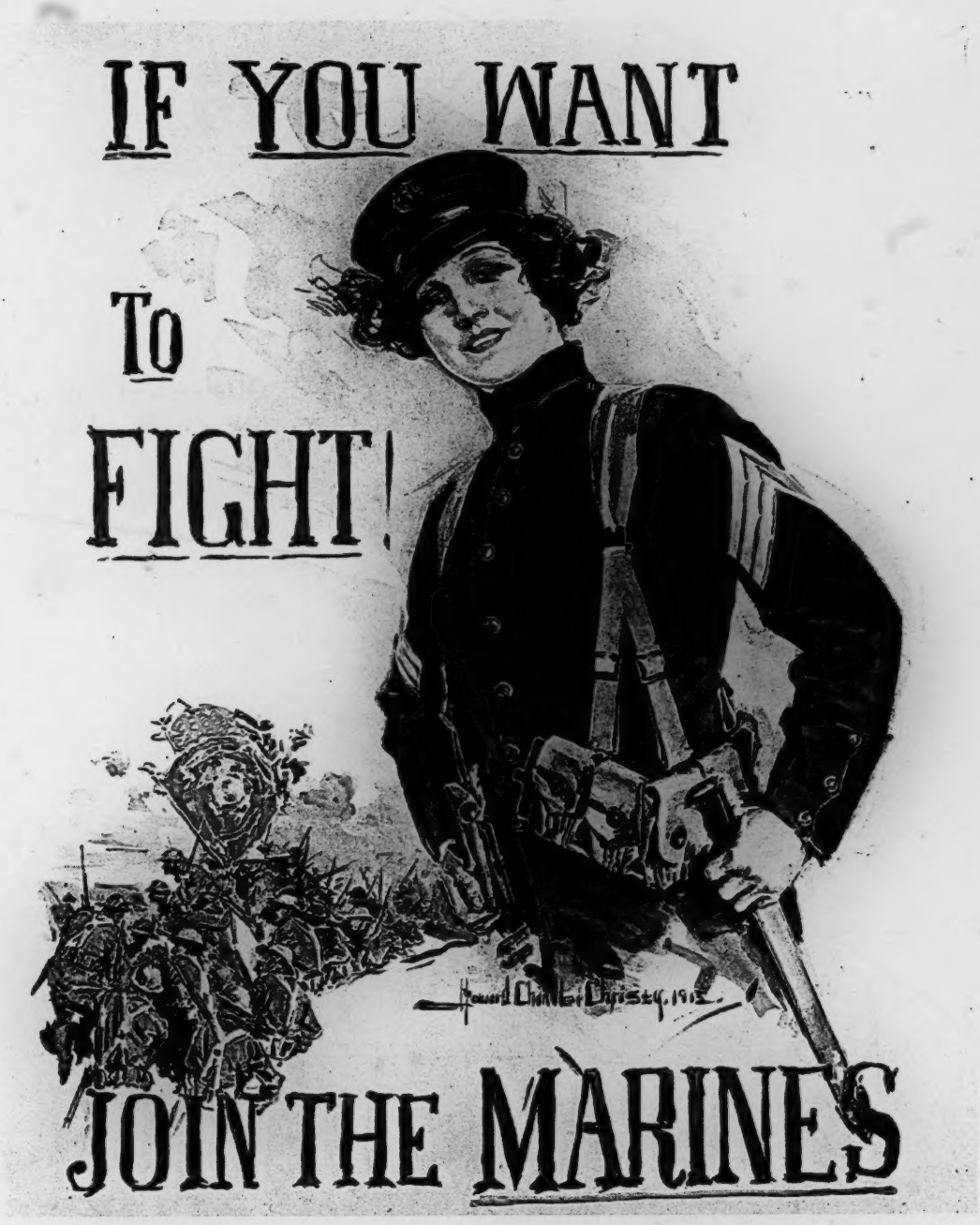


Fig. 19. Howard Chandler Christy, *Join The Marines: If You Want To Fight!*, recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, 1918, oil/canvas, 1915, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

Fig. 20. Alexander Raymond, *U.S. Marine Corps Women's Reserve: So Proudly We Serve,* photolithograph/paper, 1943-4, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

Fig. 21. *Be an Officer of Marines: One of the few. One of the finest.*, recruiting poster, photograph/paper, after 1973, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

Fig. 22. *U.S. Marines: Go Everywhere, See Everything,* recruiting poster, photolithograph/paper, c.1930s, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

Detail from *The Recruiter's Bulletin* vol.5, no.6 (July 1919), 24.

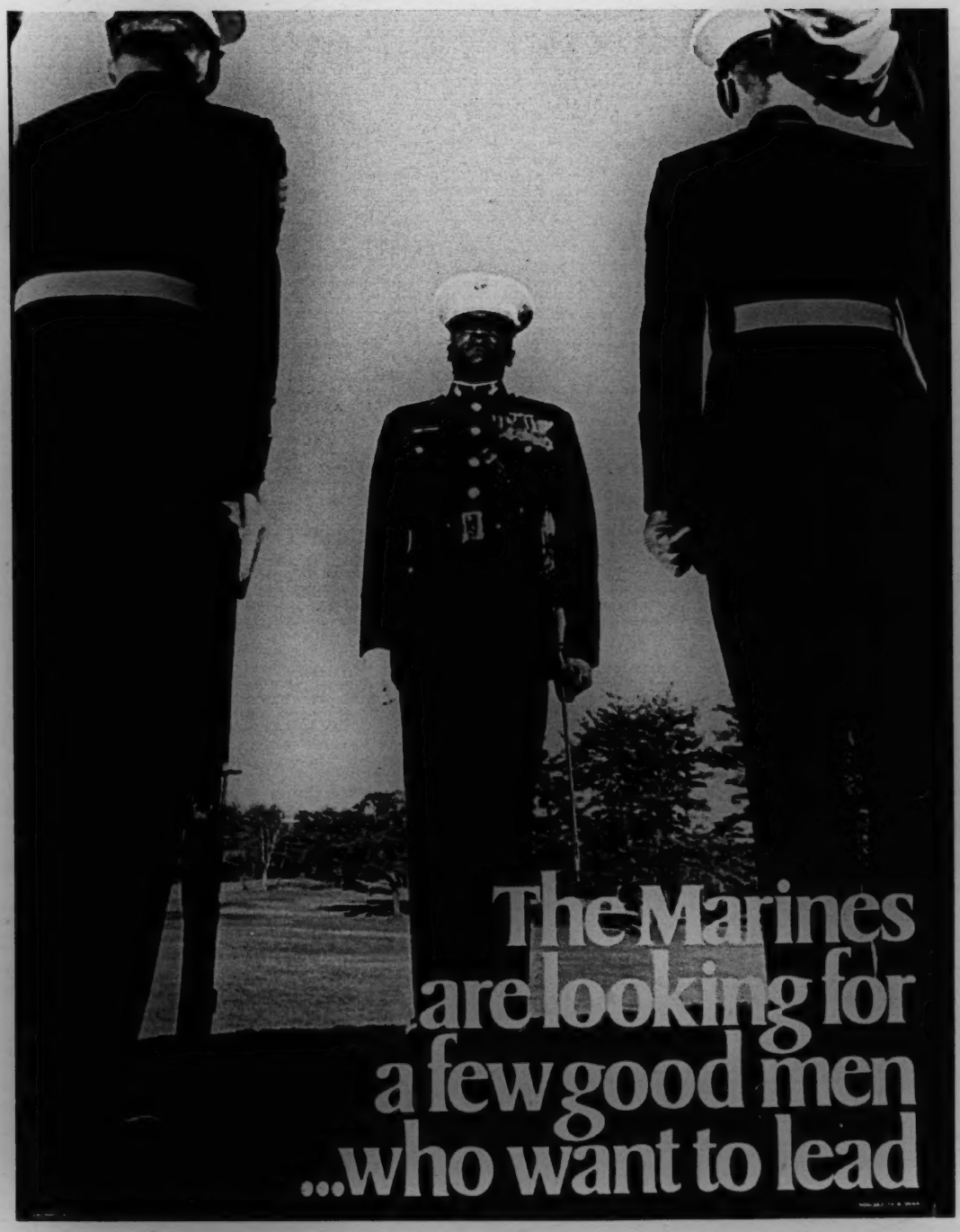


Fig. 23. *The Marines are looking for a few good men: who want to lead,* recruiting poster, photograph/paper, 1972, Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard.

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